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A Library of the World's Best Spoken Thought

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ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE

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PUBLIC SPEAKING
Debates
INDEX

Introductory Essays by Eminent Authorities giving a Practical Course of Instruction on the Important Phases of Public Speaking

MODERN ELOQUENCE

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VOLUME XV

Public Speaking

DEBATES

Index

Edited by

ASHLEY H. THORNDIKE

Professor of English, Columbia University

NEW YORK

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PREFACE

No feature of the last edition of "Modern Eloquence" received more appreciation and praise from the subscribers than the Index prepared by Miss Marian Thorndike and the articles on "Learning to Speak in Public" by Professor Harry Ayres. These two important adjuncts to the collection of speeches in the preceding fourteen volumes are now in their enlarged form assigned to a single volume, the fifteenth and last.

The Index has been considerably enlarged to furnish an even more comprehensive and practicable analysis of the material than before as well as to include references to the new speeches. A number of suggestions from readers have been adopted, and every effort has been taken to make the Index an aid in guiding the reader to the speech, the topic, the person, the occasion, or the quotation that he desires. Care has been taken, however, to keep it from becoming unwieldy or cumbersome. Few things are more annoying than an overelaborate and meticulous reference system.

The Lessons by Professor Ayres, now entitled "Speaking and Speechmaking," have been revised and enlarged by him, and have been supplemented by other articles. In addition to the "Rules for Speakers" by Mr. Walter Robinson and the "Hygiene of the Voice" by Dr. Irving Voorhees, which appeared in the earlier edition, an extensive paper on "Platform Appearance" has been prepared by Dwight Everett Watkins, Associate Professor of Public Speaking in the University of California. This supplements what has already been said in Professor Ayres's Lessons in regard to voice and gesture and treats in a thorough and helpful manner an important phase of public speaking which hitherto has been touched upon only lightly in these volumes.

Still another and a novel phase of public speaking is treated by an additional article "Principles of Effective Radio Speak-

ing," by R. C. Borden, instructor in Radio Speaking in New York University. This, like the paper by Professor Watkins, is eminently practical and is based on personal experience. Mr. Borden was for a time Co-Director of the Radio Voice Technique Committee—an organization of radio announcers, lecturers, engineers, and feature editors, and has had unusual experience in testing and training radio speakers at Station WJZ and WJY. He has added to his practical advice a brief postscript on the "Origin and Development of Radio Speaking." The 1923 edition of "Modern Eloquence" contained as novelties one or two examples of speeches broadcast over the radio, notably the speech by Mr. John J. Carty, made in New York on November 27, 1915, and carried by wireless to San Francisco. This was a pioneer achievement.

Within the five years that have passed the radio has made its way into every nook and corner of the country, and speeches over it are listened to nightly by millions of persons. Manifestly no series of lessons on How to Speak would now be complete without a set of instructions on How to Speak on the Radio. No one could have foreseen this great and peculiar extension of speechmaking when the earlier edition was being prepared; it would be folly to prophesy what the next edition may require in order to present a complete course in the art of modern eloquence.

Although a number of debates were included in the preceding edition, no special instruction was offered either in the principles and practice of debating or in the methods of conducting debating societies. This want has been supplied by two articles prepared by Arthur Riley, Instructor in Debating in Columbia University. The first, "Debating," discusses the methods of preparing an argument, collecting material, suiting it to the audience, planning an introduction and conclusion, handling rebuttal, and other matters essential in the general art of debating. The second article on "A Debate Club" deals with the way to organize such a club, the rules which may be followed, and the various exercises and methods by which skill in debating may be cultivated. Mr. Riley has had much successful experience in training such clubs and in coaching college debating teams. His papers contain the best of what is old

and well tried in this important field and also much that is new and suggestive.

As illustrative of Mr. Riley's articles we print in entirety two recent and remarkable debates with the arrangement of the actual speaking:

Debate between Professor E. R. A. Seligman, affirmative, and Professor Scott Nearing, negative, with Mr. Oswald Garrison Villard in the chair, on the subject, *"Resolved,* That capitalism has more to offer to the workers of the United States than has Socialism," in the Lexington Theater, New York City, January 23, 1921, under the auspices of the Fine Arts Guild.

Debate between Lady Rhondda, affirmative, and Mr. G. K. Chesterton, negative, with Mr. George Bernard Shaw in the chair, on the subject, "The existence of the leisured woman constitutes a grave menace to civilization," held in London, January, 1927.

Such an arrangement was not possible in the preceding volumes of this collection, where these speeches well deserved a place as admirable examples of modern eloquence. Printed here as debates all the flavor and the give and take of debate are manifest. In addition to these, attention may be called to other debates appearing in the earlier volumes.

On Socialism	
Georges Clemenceau	Democracy vs. Socialism Vol. X 386
Jean Jaurès	The Program of Socialism Vol. X 375
Lincoln-Douglas	
Abraham Lincoln	Second Joint Debate at Freport Vol. XI 235
Stephen A. Douglas	Reply to Lincoln, Vol. XI 175
On Reading	
Arthur James Balfour	The Pleasures of Reading Vol. VII 41
Frederic Harrison	The Choice of Books Vol. VII 213
On Labor	
Henry Justin Allen	The Kansas Industrial Court Vol. VIII 9

Samuel Gompers On the Tariff	The American Federation of Labor	Vol. IV 299
Thomas B. Reed	Protection and Prosperity	Vol. XI 325
Charles F. Crisp	Tariff Reform	Vol. XI 332
On the Philippines		
Jonathan P. Dolliver	The American Occupation of the Philippines	Vol. XI 384
George F. Hoar	Subjugation of the Philippines Iniquitous	Vol. XI 388

In addition to the lessons and articles in this volume, a great deal of excellent material on How to Speak is to be found in the various introductions to the preceding fourteen volumes. All of these are by public speakers of eminence and all deal with important phases of speechmaking. The Introduction, which is new to this edition, is on "The Presiding Officer" by President Butler of Columbia University, distinguished in many ways and among others as an admirable and efficient presiding officer. A few suggestions and rules as to parliamentary procedure are gathered under the title, "Holding a Meeting."

What is offered in this volume is a course of instruction in the art of expression in speech and debate. The inclusion of so much educational material may raise the question, Do you expect to teach public speaking merely by printed material? The answer is no. Every lesson and article in this book emphasizes the need of practice and gives directions for practice. The guidance of a competent instructor will greatly facilitate the progress that can come only through practice. What the lessons in this volume endeavor to do is to supply all the direction and suggestion that can be offered to the speaker through the printed word and without personal contact.

That is the first and chief aim of the varied material gathered here under the general title "The Art of Speaking"—to give practical guidance to inexperienced speakers. There is a second but not unimportant purpose, namely, to afford a means

of study and appreciation of the examples of modern eloquence that fill the earlier volumes. No better means can be found for the understanding of the achievement of an art than by a study of its technique. The speeches and addresses that make the bulk of these volumes supply the *Who* and *What*, the articles and lessons attempt to answer the *How* of modern eloquence.

I. THE ART OF SPEAKING

SPEAKING AND SPEECHMAKING

A Course of Lessons

By HARRY MORGAN AYRES

Associate Professor of English in
Columbia University

No, of course you do not wish to become an orator. It is no part of your ambition to go round making speeches. Modesty, common sense, and the multifarious demands upon your time forbid.

And yet the chances are you do a good deal of speaking. So far as such speech is something more than a pastime, so far, that is, as it is directed toward some end, to explain your action or your beliefs, to induce some one else to do something or not to do it, there is very little difference between the speaking you engage in every day and the speech made to an audience assembled for the purpose of listening to it.

A large part of business is talk. Our social and civic relations are based on talk; for better or worse we do try to run our affairs by means of meetings and committees. A lawyer talks, but also his client; a physician talks, but to more purpose if his patient can talk, too. Indeed, with so much talk on all sides one who took a vow of silence would doubtless excite the gratitude of the rest of the loquacious world—but the chances are against his keeping his vow.

In the midst of all this the need is for more people who can talk effectively and to the point. Such suggestions as are here offered are not made with a view to developing a finished orator, but are applicable to the experience of everyone who moves about in the world.

LESSON I

APPROACHING THE PROBLEM

The whole doctrine of speaking in public might be compactly expressed as follows:

Know your subject;
Know your audience;
Know yourself;
And then go to it.

Both study and experience, however, are necessary before one can be reasonably sure of responding adequately to all four injunctions at the same moment.

Experience in speaking a man has to get as he can. But opportunities for public speaking to-day are abundant. Every sort of occupation has its conventions, its banquets. There is some sort of club for every conceivable kind of human interest. There are public meetings for this and for that. There is the lecture platform and the stump. The world has never offered a wider range of opportunity, nor extended a more pressing invitation to all sorts of men to speak up, if they will.

Merely to be invited to make a speech is to receive a pleasant public recognition of one's worth. To do so successfully, to delight, to persuade, to put things clearly and convincingly, is a satisfaction that most men would risk much to enjoy. The risk, however, is considerable, and is greatly magnified by the fear of failure, the stage-fright that assails the speaker as he faces his audience. Such considerations have reduced many a good man to permanent inarticulateness. It should not be allowed to act as a deterrent. Most good speakers will confess to never having got rid of a certain amount of nervous discomfort, some shaking of the knees, in the presence of an audience. And they will also be ready to confess that the occasions on which they were not keyed up by some apprehension of the result were precisely the occasions on which they came nearest to failure.

Ordinarily an audience is good-naturedly tolerant. They

expect that as a matter of course the speaker will acquit himself creditably. He is naturally fulfilling a part of the purpose of the meeting, whatever it is. If the speaker is manifestly trying to give his best, they will meet him more than halfway; if he is obviously suffering they will be sympathetic. The man, therefore, who has an opportunity to make a speech, will do wisely to take it. The first plunge is the chilliest; and the man who refuses an appropriate opportunity of this sort merely out of fright, however he may disguise that fright to himself, works himself great and lasting harm.

Having accepted, and wisely, the opportunity to gain experience the prospective speaker will with equal wisdom set himself to study the art which he proposes to practice in public. The chances are he has given little attention to it as a study. It is both the simplest and the most difficult of the arts. It requires only what every man possessed of his faculties always has about him—his mind, his body, his speaking voice. It is the most difficult to practice well because it is something that everybody can practice and does practice—in a way. But it is something which can be made to give an intelligible and helpful account of itself as a result of a little taking of thought.

Suppose, now, the prospective speaker's thoughts go somewhat as follows: "Well, I am fairly in for it. And I am not the first to find myself in this plight. Speeches, and good ones, have been made before this. Let's see what they're like." Such a collection he has before him in these volumes of "Modern Eloquence," but on turning over its pages he might be pardoned if he concluded, somewhat despairingly, "Why, I can't make a speech like any of these!"

It would be only fair if he asked himself in reply, "But do I have to? Am I expected to be an 'orator'? Am I Henry Ward Beecher, hymning in exalted language a Union restored? Or a revolutionary patriot hurling defiance at tyranny? Or a Senator debating the burning question of slavery? Certainly not. I am I. And there is some reason why I have been asked to make this speech, some reason why I should venture to do so. The audience I must face is made up of such and such people, interested in this or that phase of my subject. That's what I'll give 'em. Somewhere in this collection there must be a speech by a man whose problem wasn't wholly different from my own."

So far, well; but how to put the speech together? How to develop my ideas so that they shall be clear and telling? Just there the advantage of studying a wide variety of models comes in. For the underlying principles of good speaking are everywhere the same. Even if my speech is smaller in scope, more modest in aim, lower in tone than anything I find here, nevertheless I can with a little study see how a good speech is put together, observe how it passes easily from point to point, unfolding and driving home its message. These general principles once gained, they are applicable to almost any kind of subject. The possessor of them has a technique which is permanently helpful, something which will make his preparation move forward systematically and without wasted energy, and something which he can count on as coming to his aid in an emergency.

The following lessons aim to make helpful toward such ends a systematic study of the many different kinds of speeches contained in "Modern Eloquence."

SUGGESTIONS

Read over the address of Dean Johnson on "The Business Man as a Public Speaker" (IV, xix). Note particularly what he has to say on

1. The business man as an experienced talker;
2. The greater freedom permitted to the speaker as contrasted with the writer;
3. The necessity of a well organized plan;
4. The use of the pronoun "I."

Read what the late Senator Hoar (IX, xiii) says about

1. The practical value of ability to speak in public;
2. The way in which great orators have trained themselves for their calling;
3. Consider what equivalents for this training you can yourself obtain.

Read Major J. B. Pond's "Memories of the Lyceum" (XIII, 318) for sketches of the great American orators.

The late Speaker Reed (VIII, xiii) describes in detail the great and varied rôle which oratory plays in modern life. Has there been any occasion in your life when you were impressed by a speaker? Try to recall the character of his effect upon you and ways in which he produced it.

Look through Volume VIII for speeches which, though formal in character, make no attempt at flights of "oratory"—the speeches of Sir Robert Falconer, Franklin K. Lane, and Leonard Wood are examples in point.

Good examples of both types—the straightforward, matter of fact, and the emotional—may be found in Volumes IV and V. Which type best suits your audience and your own powers?

LESSON II

PLANNING A SPEECH

Begin by describing to yourself the circumstances and purpose of your speech. Describe it as if somebody else were going to make it. For example:

This is a speech at a banquet of my business or professional associates. They know all about our job. They love it and are a little tired of it. They feel precisely as I do. What they wish is that some one would suddenly reveal the compensations of the thing, remind them of the fun of it. They expect no more than to be entertained; at least, not bored. Would they take a hint—something perhaps they haven't thought of—which will send them back to work refreshed and stimulated?

Or,—They have asked me to speak because I am supposed to know something about railroads. Well, by golly, I'll show them how government interference has wrecked the railroads.

Or,—The guest of honor is so and so. What do I remember about him that will take some of the conceit out of him and then show him up the kindest and wisest fellow that ever was? It's an honor to speak before such a group or in such a place.

Or,—to take another setting,—This is a lecture, a paper, a

talk of some sort, on salesmanship or finger-printing or John Keats. These people don't know anything about the subject. I can't tell it all to them. What are the half-dozen things they ought to know? What explanation would they need in order to understand them? Among them, which is the most important? Why should they want to know something about this subject, anyway?

Or,—again,—This is a legislative hearing. The committee will in all probability take this view. They know the facts pretty well, but they won't see the special bearing of this particular fact. That's the thing to bring out.

Now, having described the purpose of your speech, and the circumstances in which it will be delivered, imagine the scene as vividly as you can. Imagine yourself making the speech. Remember that everybody makes speeches, especially when one is not talking. In revery we are much of the time saying over what we are going to say—and usually don't; or what we might have said if we had only thought of it; or what we would say if we only had the chance. Such speeches are much better than any that come to delivery before an audience. Thackeray, risen to address a company gathered round the "mohogany tree" could never equal, in pungency or flight of fancy, Thackeray declaiming to the rattle of his cab wheels as he drove to the dinner. It is safe to say that most of the effective speeches that an audience has heard have drawn their strength from much solitary musing of this sort. Practice making your speech —to yourself—in the intervals of ordinary business.

Be chary, at this stage, of "trying it on" other people in the course of conversation. Possibly your ideas are not yet sufficiently robust to stand criticism. You may not yet be quite ready to pick other peoples' brains, or to go to books for information. All you have got so far is a picture of yourself speaking, and speaking well and to a point.

SUGGESTIONS

Turn to Elihu Root's speeches (Volume II, pp. 159–177) and observe how many different types of audience he has been

called upon to meet: a gathering of folk from his home county, an assembly of notables at a luncheon in Petrograd given by the Minister of Foreign Affairs, the members of the Union League Club of Philadelphia, the American Society of International Law. Observe how in each case he selects a thought which will be interesting to that particular audience: for the first, the restorative and steadying effect of country living; for the second, the promise of democratic government in Russia; for the third, the necessity for the business men of the country to arouse themselves to meet the growing governmental hostility to business; for the fourth, the necessity of an increased respect for law.

From this point of view, study Mr. Root's speeches in Volumes VII and VIII.

Observe the circumstances which confronted Ex-Governor Oglesby (III, 6). Rising to address his audience on "What I Know about Farming," his eye caught the harvest decorations about the room and he proceeded to deliver a panegyric on corn—merely, What a wonderful thing corn is! If he had been lecturing to a class in an agricultural college they might have felt defrauded, but the particular audience he addressed were delighted.

Read Lowell's remarks on after-dinner speaking (II, 371). It is all lightly and gracefully put, but it contains some sound advice as to the comparatively simple elements that go to the making of a good speech.

Consider the case of Miss Jane Addams, called upon to second the nomination of Roosevelt for the presidency (VIII, 1). His colorful career offered a wilderness of suggestion. She picks out one reason for indorsing him and drives that home. What is it?

From this point of view, study the speech of H. R. Miller, "The American Ideal" (II, 424), or of Bishop Manning, "The Vision of Unity" (VI, 269).

Consider the circumstances and purpose of Sir Esme Howard's speech (V, 1). He wishes to explain certain business conditions in England and their effect on international relations. He is speaking in the New York Advertising Club and he represents himself as a sales representative for John Bull & Co.

In Governor Smith's speech (V, 294) at a dinner in his honor by the New York Chamber of Commerce, upon his re-election to the governorship, note how skillfully his speech is suited to his audience and how effectively he enlists the interest and assistance of business men in the business of the state.

The speeches of former Vice-President Thomas R. Marshall (II, 404) are good examples of effective brevity.

LESSON III

THE PREPARATION OF THE SPEECH

It has been assumed that your subject is prescribed for you either by the occasion or by your previous interests. This is usually the case. But if you are genuinely in search of a subject, then your browsing in "Modern Eloquence" will be your best guide to the discovery of one. It is not necessary to choose a great subject. It is best not to choose an abstract one. So far as possible speak on a subject you have some acquaintance with rather than one you must wholly "get up."

You will probably choose at first too large a subject, and your problem will be to reduce it to proportions which you can handle in the allotted time. Remember: ideas sink in slowly. The hearer cannot turn back as the reader can to remind himself of something that has gone before. The speaker must do this for him, and see to it that the hearer does not lose his bearings. This takes time. One idea clearly presented is better than half a hundred imperfectly or hastily put forward.

Remember also that it takes longer to deliver a speech be-

fore an audience than it does in rehearsal. Many a speaker, aghast at the prospect of having to fill an hour, discovers that he has prepared more material than he can get rid of in three hours. Cut down. The material you discard is not wasted; it is part of your background.

The character of your preparation will depend on the nature of the subject and the extent of your preliminary grasp of it. But in any case it should be considerable. You must work and work hard if you would succeed. If you know your subject you must work hard over the arrangement of it. If you don't know it very well then you have the double task of collecting and ordering your material.

Do not omit the preliminary reverie described in Lesson II. Do not mind if it keeps you awake a night or two. You have got to get excited about this subject, and excited about the situation, if you expect others to be interested.

When you have carried on this reverie for not too long a time, begin to get something written down. Many people use cards, which can easily be shuffled about in new combinations. Others prefer a large sheet of paper, which shows the whole growing outline at a glance. It doesn't make very much difference. Begin to write. Jot down the ideas as they occur, in any order. Rearrange. Cut out.

If it is necessary to go to books, consult the subject catalogue in a large library. If you have only a small library within reach, consult the librarian. It is best not to make an elaborate bibliography at the outset. Seize upon the most promising looking book and go through it, taking rather brief notes, not omitting page references. Then go through the book again, and copy out such passages as you will actually quote or such statistical tables as you may need for your guidance. As a rule, choose the latest book you can get. This will probably give you references to other works on the subject and draw attention to such different views or interpretations of it as there may be. Do not scorn the encyclopedia, the World Almanac, the Reviewer's Guide to Periodical Literature, and the files of your own special journals. Consult the index of "Modern Eloquence."

Make your notes as brief as may be consistent with clear-

ness. It is the thought or the fact you want, not the language—that is to be your own. Remember that you are in search of only a few needful things among many which for your immediate purpose you cannot use. But you can't tell which those things are until you have been over the ground.

You have now collected a considerable body of material and have a pretty fair idea of what you want to say. It is safe to begin to talk your subject with anybody who will listen. Unexpected relations between its parts will appear to you. You will get many a hint of the things that are not instantly clear to others. You will clarify your own mind. Helpful suggestions often come from the most unpromising sources. Do not be afraid to be a bore for a while that you may be sure of being interesting later.

SUGGESTIONS

Turn over the pages of "Modern Eloquence" until you find a speech which resembles, in subject and occasion, the speech you are called on to make. Analyze it into its principal headings. Such an analysis of President Butler's speech on "Five Evidences of Education" (VII, 73) might read somewhat as follows:

Who is the educated man?
Not a matter of mere quantity.
Appears in traits or habits of intellect and character:
1. Correct use of mother tongue;
2. Refined and gentle manners;
3. Power and habit of reflection;
4. Power of growth;
5. Power to do—efficiency.
All types of educated men meet on this plane.

Or, take Mr. E. A. Filene's speech "Why Men Strike" (IV, 237).

Men strike because they don't like the bosses.
Management may make mistakes;
Terms of employment may be unjust.

Result: hostility to present industrial system, inclining people to socialism and communism as remedies.
Socialism and communism not present practical remedies.
Most employers' wealth legitimately gained,
But present wage system in stage of development which deserves study looking to improvement.
Faults of present system and their remedies:
1. Autocratic control, either by employers or employed naturally breeds hostility.
Remedy: joint control.
2. "Counterfeit," i. e., actually inadequate wages.
Causes of this.
Ways in which employer can restore genuine wages.
3. Need of humanizing industry.
Confidence in leaders;
Participation of employees in fixing terms of employment (already referred to);
Right of collective bargaining;
Reduction in hours of labor;
Compensation for industrial accidents;
Safeguards for health and working conditions;
Opportunity of employer to accomplish these things.
4. Business must become a profession and be carried on in spirit of service to the community.
Proper use of profits;
Elimination of strikes both good ethics and good business.

Let the first writing you do be no more than a skeleton of this sort. Build it up as you go along.

Make a similar analysis of Charles A. Dana's speech on "Journalism" (VI, 47).

The speeches of General Horace Porter in Volume III lend themselves readily to this kind of analysis.

What are the leading ideas in J. C. Smuts's "British Commonwealth of Nations" (III, 254)?

Study some of the abstract subjects that are well treated in these volumes, such as President Eliot's "Truth and Light" (II, 13), President Hibben's "Righteousness" (II, 213), John Bassett Moore's "American Ideals" (II, 436), Roosevelt's "The Strenuous Life" (VIII, 362), Cortelyou's "Efficiency" (VI, 139).

Pick out some of the simple subjects from which have grown successful speeches, such as Mark Twain's "Babies" (I, 298), Samuel S. Cox's "Smith and So Forth" (I, 352), John Cotton Dana's "Mere Words" (VI, 59).

Select and analyze some speeches which are largely explanatory—Lord Cunliffe, "The Bank of England" (IV, 144), Paul Henderson, "Aircraft for Industry" (IV, 389), John W. Davis, "Our Brethren Overseas" (VI, 86), Owen Young, "The Dawes Plan" (V, 405).

LESSON IV

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SPEECH

The Introduction

A SPEECH, as Aristotle said of a play, has a beginning, a middle, and an end. The beginning gets you under way, and sets your subject before the audience in such a fashion that they are willing to listen; the middle develops this subject, emphasizing and making clear the things which you wish the audience to know, or gradually arousing in them the emotions which you wish them to feel; the end brings you to a graceful and satisfying sense of having completed your task, and affords telling opportunity to remind your audience once more what they have got from you—what it is you want them to know or feel or do about it.

You have now a large mass of material. You know pretty well what you want to say. But you can't fling your notes in the face of your audience. You must arrange it so that they

will be able to follow you and get what you wish them to get. The structure you adopt for your speech will be designed to lead their thought in an orderly manner through to a desired end.

A speaker is usually "introduced" to an audience. The purpose of this is to gain for him their complete attention. This attention, however, is only momentary and it is up to the speaker at once to arouse their interest, to enlist their willingness to think ahead along with him.

Speakers are often in too great a hurry to begin and linger too long over the introduction. Do not be in haste to open your mouth. Gather yourself together after you have risen. Take in the whole audience with your eye. Project your personality among them as far as possible. They wish to feel that you are master of the situation and a leader whom they can gladly follow. Look the part, anyway. The fact that you are the speaker gives you a great advantage. Use it. Do not throw it away by apologizing. Be modest, of course, but remember that before you can interest an audience in your subject it is important that they should be interested in you. Get on good terms with them at once. One of the best ways to do this is consciously and definitely to like them. Remember, they want you to do well.

There are as many different ways of beginning as there are speeches. Express your pleasure at this opportunity to meet with the audience—it *is* a pleasant thing, even though a moment before you were utterly miserable. You may refer to the circumstances out of which this opportunity grew, or to the fact that you once spoke on this subject under very different circumstances. Or you may catch up a phrase or an idea of a previous speaker or of your introducer. Ordinarily it is wisest to establish this personal contact even if what follows is a rather formal speech on a subject in which the audience may be presumed to be interested. The more you know about a subject the less likely they are to suspect that you are human. They would like to be assured of that. Or you may tell a story (don't say you are reminded of it, just tell it) or sketch a little scene from which you can pass easily to the statement of your subject. A literary reference which is to the point and

pretty sure to be understood by the audience makes a possible opening.

Once in touch with his audience the speaker should not long delay the statement of his subject—what it is and why it merits discussion.

SUGGESTIONS

Lyman Abbott's speech on "Faith and Duty" (I, 1) is a good example of the simple, direct introduction. There had been much talk during the evening about the Pilgrims of Plymouth. Dr. Abbott began at once, "I desire to turn your thoughts from the past to the future." He then proceeds to discuss what this country has accomplished and what remains to be done by future generations.

In addressing the New York Chamber of Commerce ("The Making of a National Spirit," I, 35), President Alderman of Virginia begins by playing round the resemblances between school teachers, of which he is one, and merchants, who compose his audience. Both are called hard names, etc., etc. One way and another he gets to Wall Street, where his eye catches the statue of George Washington, at once the richest and most public spirited citizen of his country; this he makes the central theme of his talk.

President Angell of Yale ("National Morality," I, 43) evidently takes a cue from the fact that a few people were leaving the banquet room as he rose to speak. He supposes that this migration is composed of graduates of Harvard, Princeton, and Amherst; and if the kindly toastmaster had kept on, there would have been none but Yale men left to hear him. He keeps on almost to the end in this playful vein.

A good example of an easy, playful opening leading rapidly, yet by almost imperceptible stages, to the serious consideration of a serious subject may be found in Henry Ward Beecher's "Religious Freedom" (I, 87). After calling attention to his

own plight—prevented by the lateness of the hour from delivering the fine speech he had prepared—and after commenting on the plight of the departed Fathers in having to give heed to so much oratorical praise, he continues (p. 88):

"In regard to the subject matter of the toast which I was to speak to, I wish to say this: that those who have oppressed men by religion have only done by that instrument what everybody else has been trying to do by every other instrument. Everybody that has any gumption is a pope, or would be glad to be."

Notice that the language is still colloquial, though we are moving close to the heart of the subject.

A fresh and effective variation of the apologetic opening is found in James M. Beck's "Fourth of July" (I, 78).

Observe how quickly Augustine Birrell gets to his subject, "Dr. Johnson's Personality" (I, 116). We all talk about Johnson. Why? Because he was interesting. What does that mean? And the speech is under way.

Examples of the "thank you" type of introduction are numerous; none better than Lord Bryce's "Changes of Forty Years in America" (I, 168). Notice that he begins his speech on "Peace" (I, 168) in similar fashion.

A pithy sentence, approaching epigrammatic condensation, makes a good beginning. See Henry C. Caldwell's "A Blend of Cavalier and Puritan" (I, 202).

Study carefully the introduction of the late Joseph Hodges Choate (Vol. I). He uses almost every device—direct attack, as in the first speech, a verse quotation, pretended helplessness, etc.

The literary allusion as an introduction is used by George William Curtis, "Liberty Under the Law" (I, 356).

The device of catching up a remark of a previous speaker appears in William Henry Draper's "Our Medical Advisers"

(I, 418). Study the use of this device in the speeches of General Horace Porter in Volume III.

Good-natured rallying, in the form of compliment, is delightfully effective in William M. Evarts' "The Classics in Education" (II, 33).

Edward Everett Hale, "The Mission of Culture" (II, 134), begins with an apt reference to the snowy weather outside.

For the opening with a story, see Governor Smith's "A Business Administration" (V, 294) and Max Steuer's "Cross Examination" (VI, 326).

LESSON V

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SPEECH

Presentation and Arrangement of Main Theme

Your audience is now in a state of expectancy. They are interested to hear what you have to say and disposed to receive it. You must tell them what it is you want them to receive. This involves a statement of the main theme—the proposition in its various aspects which you wish to establish in their minds, about which you wish to inform them or convince them, arouse their emotions or direct their actions.

If your main purpose is to trace the history of a subject, say of the tariff, or of international arbitration, you may begin at once, with merely a word to indicate the bearing, the import, the "aliveness" of the subject to-day. But if your concern is more immediately with the present state of affairs, then it may be necessary rapidly to survey the stages by which the present state of affairs has come about. Here, too, is the place to explain any technical terms or familiar words used in a special sense, anything, in short, of which a knowledge on the part of the audience cannot be taken for granted.

The chief problem is one of selection and emphasis. What

are the particular phases of the subject chosen for discussion? And what is the most natural and effective order in which to take them up?

In preparing your speech set these topics down in one, two, three order. This forms roughly the structure of the main part of your speech. In some form it must early be communicated to the audience if they are to know clearly "what you are driving at." But it had perhaps better not be laid before the audience in the traditional "firstly, secondly, thirdly" manner. In preparation, you may proceed, as already suggested: set down as they occur to you the principal points you wish; then begin to meditate on the contents of the sheet before you. Does (2) naturally and easily follow (1)? Are not (3) and (6) parts of the same topic and best treated together? Is not (4) after all the most important, the most telling? If so, it should go at or near the close of the main body of the speech, or near the beginning, to be referred to again near the close.

All this is the barest skeleton; you will clothe it afterwards. Just now you are to decide what points you are going to make and in what order you will make them. You will develop them later. Hints for this work of development may be jotted down as you proceed.

SUGGESTIONS

Turn once more to Lyman Abbott's "Faith and Duty" (I, 1); at the end of the first paragraph he says: "I want to tell you, as far as I can within the limits of time allotted to me, what we have done in my lifetime, and what we have left you younger men to do in your lifetime."

The topics which form the main theme might have been set down in preparation of the speech somewhat as follows:

I. Things done
   1. Abolition of slavery;
   2. Realization of ourselves as a nation;
   3. Extension of public education;
   4. Enlarged scope of work of the church.

II. Things to be done
   1. Improvement in relations between labor and capital;
   2. Development of a citizen soldiery;
   3. Spiritualizing education, in a faith broad enough to include us all.

Or, take General Goethals' speech on the completion of the Panama Canal (II, 92). "I am going to give you," he says at the outset, "a rambling talk on various matters connected with the Canal." The words "preliminary work" occur in the next sentence. It is made plain that the preliminary work falls under these heads:

1. Sanitation;
2. Decision to give the contract to the Government;
3. Building of houses and stores.

He then goes on to say that the Canal is practically complete and that the present concern is with the organization of a scheme of government for the Zone. The rest of the speech deals with this topic. Although the remarks were impromptu and informal, the hearer was never at a loss to know what the speaker was talking about.

Continue with the next speech, "The New South," by Henry W. Grady (II, 97). Mr. Grady states his main theme in the opening sentence, then with admirable effect turns to an expression of his appreciation, a description of his difficult plight, illustrated by stories, approaches his theme by mentioning the Cavalier as having, along with the Puritan, made his contribution to the Republic, rouses his audience to enthusiasm by his praise of Lincoln as embodying the virtues of both types, and finally (p. 100) he is fully embarked on the main theme—the contrast between the old South and the new.

Max Steuer's speech "Cross Examinations" (VI, 326), consists in the main of three remarkable stories, presumably drawn from his own experience. But notice how these stories are labeled and fitted into the structure of the speech and made to furnish an analysis of the art of cross-examination.

Charles R. Wiers in his speech "A Swarm of Be's" (V, 386) takes up in order twelve distinct topics, but with enough anecdotes and epigrams to prevent the numerical iteration from becoming tedious.

Mr. Otto Kahn's speech "A Talk to Young Business Men" (V, 55) is similarly arranged under ten heads.

LESSON VI

THE STRUCTURE OF THE SPEECH

The Conclusion

It is not always easy for a speaker in full swing to come to an effective stop, to make a safe and graceful landing. A speaker too often keeps on and on in the hope of spying a way of escape from a situation of which he has become the victim. This unhappy condition of affairs need not arise if adequate preparation has been made. What is desired is a sense of completeness, of arrival. But if one's remarks are of the "rambling" variety there is no arrival and a sense of completeness is wholly lost. If a speaker merely stops, as it were, in mid career, the audience is defrauded. They cannot easily recover the winged words that the speaker has uttered—as they might turn back the pages of a book or reread a newspaper article—and create a conclusion for themselves.

The conclusion is the speaker's great chance. Here he meets his audience at the point for which they set out together. The ground has been gone over, speaker and audience have a fund of information in common: they understand each other. What, then, was it all about? What are the things chiefly memorable among all that has been said? How do we feel about it now? What, if anything, is to be done about it?

If the speech has been wholly successful up to this point you should not feel called upon to drive these points home—the driving home process should have been carried on through the main body of the speech. You should strive to suggest, as far

as it can be done, that these are the conclusions which the audience itself, being now in possession of the facts, must inevitably arrive at; this is the way they can't help feeling; this is what they naturally want to do.

If the audience has genuinely been giving its attention it will not relish an abrupt stop on the part of the speakers, which leaves a sense of incompleteness. You must contrive to make it plain that you have done what you set out to do. This must be done concisely and clearly. If the subject permits of any elevation of tone, do not be afraid to throw into the conclusion all the force and conviction which you have. If you have dealt fairly with the audience, they will not fail you at this point, but will gladly move to such ground as you wish them to occupy and will applaud with satisfaction at having got somewhere.

SUGGESTIONS

Once more the speech of Dr. Lyman Abbott, "Faith and Duty" (I, 1), offers a good example of a simple and satisfying conclusion—he merely prosecutes his main theme until its bearing is plain, its importance sufficiently emphasized, and then, with a sense of high aspiration and broad vision, he stops.

Charles Francis Adams in "The Lessons of Life" (I, 10) recalls that amid the thunders of Gettysburg he found himself repeating certain lines from Milton, which he quotes. The application of the lines forms the conclusion.

Much of President Eliot's speech on "The Arming of the Nations" (II, 9) is taken up with a description of the peaceable understanding between the United States and Canada with respect to the common frontier. Then the speaker moves on to consider the various problems which in the future may threaten peace. "Some eminent authorities maintain that the way to preserve peace is to make yourself formidable for war. Gentlemen, that is not the way of the United States or Canada since

the year 1817." The point of the speech could not be driven in more effectively.

An example of the surprise conclusion may be found in Mark Twain's "New England Weather" (I, 290).

The imaginative, descriptive type of conclusion may be seen in Justice Holmes's "Law and the Court" (II, 228).

A simple but effective conclusion, with a touch of emotion and personality, is to be found in Nicholas Longworth's "Legislating for a Republic" (V, 128).

LESSON VII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SPEECH

You have now collected your material, selected from it what you want and arranged it so that it has a beginning, a middle and an end. All the while you have been imagining yourself as delivering it to a particular audience, and very likely several passages of connected discourse have taken shape in your mind. This process of clothing the bare framework is what is meant by the developing of the speech.

Different people will set about this in different ways. The job is to think. And some people like to do their thinking before they write, and some prefer to start writing at once, scratch out and interline as they go along. The latter is perhaps the surer way of making progress, for much of the time we think we're thinking, we aren't.

Whatever one's method, the speech must eventually be written. Only an old hand, trained to all tricks, would venture upon an important speech without writing it, even if he then throw his manuscript away and give a quite different speech when he begins to "feel" his audience. Unless you are very familiar with the habits of your own mind you cannot be sure that you have thought anything out to the point where you can deliver it to an audience until you have written it down or talked it to some one else.

All the textbooks on rhetoric and logic, which of course it is impossible to summarize here, are chiefly descriptions of the process of connected and effective thinking. If you are thinking along in a fine glow, it doesn't help a great deal, perhaps, to stop and wonder whether you are arguing from antecedent probability or analogy, from effect to cause, or from cause to effect, from general to specific, or specific to general. Yet reasoning of that sort you will necessarily employ in establishing and elaborating your main theme.

It will have to be assumed, therefore, that your mind works in something like an orderly and logical manner. If it does not, the chances of your making a good speech at the first attempt are small. But one way to find out whether your argument holds water is to try it on somebody else. Are there, perhaps, a set of considerations which you have left out of account, which tend to destroy the force of your argument? For example, because America has been prosperous and has also usually had a high protective tariff, does it or does it not follow that the tariff is the cause of prosperity? Because Washington gave a general warning against American concern with European affairs, does it follow that his words apply literally to conditions as they exist to-day?

Next to logical development of your thought, which alone gives it meaning, comes clearness in the presentation of it, which alone insures that the hearer will be able to receive it. Do not be afraid to repeat. Don't hesitate to say the same thing over again, with only such changes in phrasing as may be necessary to avoid monotony. Indeed, if you can get your main thought into a compact and striking sentence, use it again and again; each time it appears it will have acquired fresh significance and will come to the audience charged with more and more of the meaning which you wish it to carry.

Your thought may be developed by comparing it or contrasting it with material at first glance perhaps not closely related to it. The discovery by the audience, under your guidance, that a relationship does exist is to them both enlightening and stimulating. Clearness can often be best obtained by the citation of a concrete example or by dwelling upon details which can be made to stand significantly for the whole.

One of the most important aids to clearness is the skillful use of transition. Just what have we done so far? Where have we arrived? What are we going to do next? Why is it the natural and necessary thing to come at this point? Great care should be expended on this phase of the development. Remember you cannot successfully in a speech say as many things as you might in a written article. Make everything serve the few things that you really wish to communicate. Keep the audience advised what those things are. If you are not careful the audience will carry away with them some illustration without remembering what it illustrates.

SUGGESTIONS

A simple and obvious example of the development by means of repetition may be found in Albert J. Beveridge's "The Republic That Never Retreats" (I, 111). Compare this with William Jennings Bryan's "America's Mission" (I, 158), a speech on the same subject. In both cases much of the material used for development is in the nature of historical illustration, but where Mr. Beveridge has to make only one point and strongly reinforce it, Mr. Bryan has to make several points and develop each in a somewhat different way.

Observe that President Eliot's "The Arming of the Nations" (II, 9) develops his theme of disarmament by the description of a single situation—that on the frontier of Canada and the United States.

Mr. Walter Lippman ("The Theater Guild," II, 333) develops his theme, dramatic criticism, by means of a fable describing a competition for the best essay on The Elephant. The playing of a game like this, in all its varieties, he then applies to dramatic criticism. Finally he describes the triumphs of the Theater Guild over the difficulties that faced it. Notice that the illustrations and contrasts which he selects are usually from contemporary events.

Sir Ernest Shackleton develops his speech on "Penguins" (III, 208) chiefly by reinterpreting the remarks of previous speakers capped by stories. But he does get to penguins finally and there contents himself with a few illustrations showing how human penguins are.

Stories, if they possess a discernible application and are not too long, are one of the handiest devices for development, especially in after-dinner speaking. Study the section in Volume XIV entitled "Speechmaking," which furnishes numerous illustrations. Study the use of illustrative anecdote in Augustus Thomas's "Individual Liberty" (III, 344).

Study carefully the contrasting methods of two speeches near the end of Volume III. That of Dean John H. Wigmore ("My Creed for the Nation," III, 401) is a series of propositions very simply stated in the form of a creed. It is a plain and effective statement of fact. Now turn to the whimsical development of the theme "The Ideal Woman" (III, 411) by Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, decked out with humorous verse, scientific terminology, and classical mythology.

Contrast with these two the speech of Harry C. Spillman, "Doing Unto Others" (III, 271). It contains only one proposition—the Golden Rule works in business—but that proposition is developed with illustrations from the philosophers, the Bible, modern business men and the insane asylum.

For unity of effect in development of the theme, study Woodrow Wilson's "Force to the Utmost" (XII, 297); for closeness of argument, the speeches by Nikolai Lenine, "A Dictatorship of the Proletariat" (XII, 196), "The Peasants" (XII, 202).

Among speeches which directly aim to stir an audience study especially Brand Whitlock, "Lafayette, Apostle of Liberty" (XII, 239), Viviani, "Declaration of War by France" (XII, 45), "Spirit of France" (XII, 91), "Addresses in America" (XII, 223 and 225), Carrie Chapman Catt, "A Call to Action" (VIII, 77).

LESSON VIII

COMPOSITION AND DICTION

"It is a great matter," said Cicero, "to know what to say and in what order to say it, but how to say it is a greater matter still." Such an injunction had more bearing on the highly rhetorical style which Cicero carried to perfection than it would have on most speeches to-day. But a speech which has every other virtue can be spoiled if it is not composed in a style which is reasonably correct and clothed with a diction which is appropriate to the occasion.

It is a good rule never to talk down to your audience. Give your best; the audience expects it. They wish to be proud of you. At the same time they do not wish to observe in you a superior condescension. It is perfectly possible to be colloquial and yet dignified. Almost anyone of President Eliot's speeches will show that this can be done. But do not, on the contrary, adopt a grandiloquent, highfalutin' style, too far above the level of ordinary discourse.

Do not allow yourself to be beset with fears that you may make a so-called grammatical mistake. If you are habitually a careless speaker, of course your sin will find you out on the platform. But if you find yourself in an error, never mind; forge ahead and trust to the interest of your topic and your evident sincerity of purpose in presenting it to carry your audience with you. A slip is always pardonable, but an intentional cheapening of your speech in the hope of ingratiating yourself with certain types of audiences will usually produce the opposite of the effect desired.

One who wishes to become a good speaker must become acutely observant of his own speech, constantly checking it up with reference to what he regards as the best practice of others. People learn more of pronunciation by the ear than they do by consulting a dictionary. When it is a matter of the meaning of a word the dictionary should be freely consulted. The range of one's vocabulary should constantly be increased. This can best be done by a conscious effort to use the new words that

one hears or reads. Resolve to make definite additions each day to the words or phrases which you actually use, not merely those which you more or less understand when somebody else uses them. Consciously avoid the trite and stereotyped phrases to which some speakers desperately cling. Avoid vague words and confused figures of speech.

Successful composition depends in great measure on sentence structure, and here the chief aim is variety. There is a time for the short sentence and a time for the long one, a time for the loose, easy sentence which explains itself as it goes along and which could be stopped at any point, still remaining clear and complete up to that point; and there is a time for a type of periodic sentence which through a succession of clauses reaches finally to a climax. Even a series of sentences of strictly like formation may, if the effect is carefully premeditated, offer still another kind of variety. Do not crowd too many or unrelated ideas into a single sentence. Aim to make of each a structure that hangs together.

SUGGESTIONS

Read widely and assiduously in "Modern Eloquence." It is better, for a mature person, at any rate, to exercise the mind in the thrust and turn of countless models of good diction than laboriously to correct the mistakes in carefully prepared examples of bad English. Often one encounters some wholly simple person whose habitual speech is without distinction, but who once on his feet will speak with flow and dignity. Such a person will usually be found to have saturated himself with the noble diction of the King James Bible. Familiarity with the Bible and with Shakespeare might be said to be essential to good speaking in English. But a close familiarity with the material in "Modern Eloquence" will greatly help to bend one's powers to the practical issues of speaking in public.

Between the sonorous roll of Webster's periods and the colloquial tones of Job Hedges or George Ade you will have no difficulty in finding models which approach what should be your proper style.

If you hesitate where to begin, try the speeches of William Cullen Bryant, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. You will not thereafter be at a loss to know what the term "distinction" means.

Note in other speakers expressions that seem to you overworked and deserve a rest. No two such lists would wholly agree. How do you feel about *viewpoint, along these lines, fill a long felt want, it has been well said?*

Study in the dictionary the meaning of words that you may be tempted to use vaguely, such as *factor* and *phase,* or incorrectly, as *aggravate, alternative, transpire, venal* and *venial.*

The temptation is to use *shall* and *whom* too often. Test your own use of these words and observe them in the pages of "Modern Eloquence."

What is your feeling with regard to the following expressions?

Equally *as* good (instead of equally good).

I felt *like* I was going to cry (instead of *as if*).

I *inferred* that that was what I wanted him to do (instead of *intimated* or *implied*).

I had no doubt *but* that he was coming.

He wouldn't speak to me, *due to* the money I owed him.

I will give you an *instant* (instead of *instance*).

It is *liable* to rain.

The reason is *because* he couldn't.

Read the speech of Patrick Francis Murphy "In Honor of Joseph Choate" (II, 450), and William J. Bryan's lecture on "The Spoken Word" (XIII, 91).

See the Epigrams in Volume XIV and study Edward S. Jordan's witty and epigrammatic speech, "Advertising Automobiles" (V, 32).

The material in Volumes X and XI—the great orations of the past, both foreign and American—scarcely furnishes models which can be directly imitated, but the prospective speaker cannot do better than to steep himself in them.

LESSON IX

THE DELIVERY OF THE SPEECH

You are now before the audience, prepared to produce your speech. Where, by the way, have you got it? Have you memorized it and come prepared to spout it with what pretense at concealing the fact you may be able to contrive? Or will you frankly read from your manuscript? Or have you some notes out of which you will do the best you can to construct a speech as you go along? Or do you trust wholly to the occasion to start you off and to your experience, which must be a large one, to carry you through?

There is a good deal to be said for the method of reading from a manuscript. At times it is the only way. You bring to your audience tangible evidence that you are prepared to meet the importance of the occasion. If there is a good deal of ground to be covered, much detail to be conveyed, it is perhaps the only way to get through. A politician desiring to give a careful statement of his position or a scientist producing the results of his research will perhaps not care to trust to the chances of even apparently extemporaneous speaking. Every word he wishes to be carefully weighed and he does not wish to be carried by his audience outside his text. If a man reads well many of the disadvantages of this method may be removed. But disadvantages there are. The manuscript is a barrier between the speaker and his audience. They miss the power of his eye, and are defrauded of the pleasure of sharing with the speaker the thrill and effort of the laboring mind. The work is all done; there it lies and might just as well be read in the newspapers.

Memorizing, too, has its disadvantages. What if the speaker should break down? or get to spouting so much above his natural levels of utterance that it all sounds more like some one else's work than his own?

Undoubtedly, a sense of spontaneity, a feeling that the speaker is actually speaking what he is at that moment thinking, is, in short, sharing an experience with the audience—

these are the desirable things. Yet there is no such thing as an extemporaneous speech; there is at most the application to a new set of circumstances of powers and stores which the speaker has already exercised and accumulated.

Therefore, write your speech by all means; or, if your mind is sufficiently trained, do the close thinking which is equivalent to writing. Then read it if you must; otherwise, if your thinking has been hard enough you will not need to memorize or strive to recall what you wrote; trust to the stimulus of your audience and the integrity of your preparation, and speak. What results may not in every case be precisely what you wrote, but it may be a better speech. As a speech, it ought to be more effective.

The fact is, however, if you can only establish right relations with your audience you can read or extemporize or effect a combination of both to your own best advantage. Whatever the method, you must be in command of the situation. You must have the self-confidence that entitles you to command, but also the sincerity, the charm and the tact which persuades your audience to concede it to you gladly.

It is assumed that you are familiar with your subject, that you are interested in it and that you are prepared to treat it fairly. Ordinarily the audience will assume these things and it requires only moderate skill to confirm this belief on their part and rather more than ordinary clumsiness to destroy it. Therefore put yourself at once on the side of the audience. Approach your subject with them in a spirit of helpfulness and friendliness. Be quick to catch their reactions. If they are puzzled, explain. If their attention wanders, throw in a brief anecdote, the briefer the better. If they seem hostile, try to get at the grounds of their hostility. You wish to convince them, of course, but you can't convince them against their will. It may be that the grounds of this irresponsiveness or hostility are matters which you had hardly taken into account in your preparation. Never mind. Forget the speech which you thought you were going to make and give the speech you ought to give. If you have not shirked the labor of preparation, you can make this shift in your plans, and give a better speech.

SUGGESTIONS

The matter of this lesson is treated at greater length in the paper in this volume by Dwight E. Watkins on "Platform Appearance."

Look up what Dean Johnson has to say on the way to read a paper (IV, xxxiv); on memorizing (p. xxxix).

Read what Colonel Higginson says about the use of notes in the delivery of a speech (II, xviii).

Make a practice of reading aloud—it is not necessary or perhaps even desirable that you should have an audience—from the pages in "Modern Eloquence."

Memorize a few passages that move you. A good illustration of a speaker quickly responsive to the feelings of his audience is Lloyd George in most of his speeches in Volume XII.

Note the circumstances under which the following speakers rose to their feet: Asquith (IX, 35), Stanley Baldwin (IV, 33), Chatham (X, 101), Viviani (XII, 45). Imagine the manner of delivery that would be effective in each instance.

LESSON X

VOICE AND GESTURE

It is a good rule to speak in your natural voice. If you are speaking out-of-door or in a large hall it may be necessary to increase the volume, to proceed more slowly, and to utter important words with more than usual distinctness. Observe closely, however, the manner in which you talk to a friend or a customer on a subject in which you are very much interested and make this the basis of your platform voice.

Speaking loud enough to be heard, practice speaking quietly.

It was Beecher's quietness which stilled his tumultuous audience at Liverpool. Wendell Phillips, who tamed many a hostile throng, spoke so quietly that everybody stopped to hear what he was saying. Hamlet's advice to the players is still the best thing that has been written on this subject:

"Speak the speech, I pray you, as I pronounced it to you, trippingly on the tongue; but if you mouth it, as many of your players do, I had as lief the town-crier spoke my lines. Nor do not saw the air too much with your hand, thus, but use all gently, for in the very torrent, tempest, and, as I may say, the whirlwind of passion, you must acquire and beget a temperance that may give it smoothness. . . . Be not too tame, neither, but let your discretion be your tutor. Suit the action to the word, the word to the action; with this special observance, that you o'erstep not the modesty of nature."

One of the best ways to exercise the voice for public speaking is to do your reading aloud, especially poetry. The reading aloud of good verse will call out your reserves of resonance and demand a distinctness of utterance which will soon become habitual. It will also accustom you to the utterance of many words which you ordinarily only hear or see, without using them yourself.

Stammering, if it is severe, calls for expert advice; but it is purely a mental condition and can often be materially overcome by merely opening the mouth a little more and speaking with a fuller tone than usual. True nasality can be met by holding one's self under firmer control, thus avoiding the relaxation of the soft palate which permits the escape of air through the nose. Nasality, so-called, the thinness of voice which results from a constriction of the muscles about the nose and upper lip, can be corrected by a greater degree of relaxation.

Throw the voice well forward, as you do when you speak into the telephone, but let your whole body be behind it. Speak in the natural voice or a very little louder, and at your usual rate of speed. If the auditorium is very large or with a high ceiling, be careful to speak more slowly and distinctly than usual. If the room has a tendency to echo, loud speaking is likely to become confused. Slow and distinct utterance will overcome the echo. In a small room before a small audience,

the danger is in speaking too slowly rather than too rapidly. The rest is largely a matter of good general health and mental and physical poise.

Demosthenes' three requisites for good speaking, "first, action; second, action; and third, action," have in view a somewhat more vivacious Mediterranean type of oratory than you are likely to practice. Gestures are valuable as a reinforcement of the spoken word. Inappropriate gestures, the repetition of spasmodic and unmeaning movements of the hands and arms, are worse than no gestures at all.

The speaker, like the golfer or the boxer, will begin by getting a good stance. Then let him throw his whole self in his speaking, allowing his countenance to express the emotion with which he wishes his thought to be received. Reasonably appropriate gestures of the hands and arms will follow almost automatically—the hand will rise, palm outward, for quiet; the clenched fist fall to express determination, the arm will sweep from the body to indicate largeness or extent.

Unless gesture is or can be made to appear wholly spontaneous, it is best avoided, and may not be greatly missed. The best speaker, however, is something more than a voice; he speaks with his whole body and with the whole spirit that inhabits it and makes it alive.

LESSON XI

SOME VARIETIES OF SPEECHMAKING

You have now made your speech. You have been successful at points where you expected to fail; some of your best things fell rather flat; several things infinitely better than anything you used occurred to you after you got to bed. Do not lose these last; they are your preparation for your next speech and constitute the best lesson in the art of speechmaking.

On the whole, the satisfaction of having it all over drives out any other feeling. But if you have been successful a certain sense of power still remains with you—or, if you have come short of success, a highly valuable determination to succeed

next time. While this mood is on you ask yourself this question: Just what sort of speech was I trying to make? An hour's reading of "Modern Eloquence" at this time would be worth more than many hours of desultory perusal. As an aid to finding rapidly what lies nearest to your need a number of speeches in the several volumes are here analyzed under subjects. These represent subjects and occasions on which many speeches are made every year. For additional matter you should, of course, consult the Index, under such heads as Anniversaries, Birthdays, Canada, Commencement addresses, Democracy, Education, Enthusiasm, Holland, Ideals, Invention, New England, Pilgrims, Pulpit, Puritans, Railroads, Scotch, Shakespeare, Success, Vision.

This is the time to read many examples of the kind of speech you were making or might have made. If your task was the introduction of a speaker, follow up the references here given under that head; if it were a humorous speech, you come with the eye of a connoisseur to the appraisal of the specimens given under that caption; so likewise if the occasion was a debate or the celebration of a national holiday.

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LESSON XII

BUSINESS SPEECHMAKING

Public Speaking by Business Men has been fully discussed in the Introduction to Volume IV by Dean Johnson; and the Preface to that volume treats of the rapid extension of speechmaking in modern business. Volumes IV and V of "Modern Eloquence" are devoted to speeches on business subjects by business men, representing topics and occasions on some of which nearly every business man is likely to be called upon for a speech. After you have made your first speech you will turn again to these volumes with quickened interest. As a supplementary aid to the Index, a number of these business speeches are here grouped by subject matter, purpose, or occasion.

These should be studied for the means by which the speech is built to fit the particular audience or subject. Some are very short; some are matter-of-fact, others emotional; some are witty and epigrammatic, others serious and informing. Every art of the effective speaker, every variety of appeal to an audience is illustrated here as well as in political or memorial or educational addresses. Business speechmaking requires all the skill and knowledge that "Modern Eloquence" has to offer.

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PLATFORM APPEARANCE

By DWIGHT EVERETT WATKINS

Associate Professor of Public Speaking in the University of California

David Warfield once said, "First *look* the part, then *act* it," and although the famous actor was not at the time thinking of speakers at business luncheons and sales-meetings, he gave just as good advice for such occasions as the man who uttered the more famiilar admonition, "Have something to say, say it, and sit down."

Many a man who has had excellent ideas, who has arranged them logically, who has phrased them in clear, forceful, even eloquent words, who has been possessed of a pleasing and well modulated voice, and who has even known when to stop, has failed in speaking before his fellows because he did not "look the part." Emerson's famous sentence, "What you *are* speaks so loud, I cannot hear what you *say*," expresses much the same idea. No man whose body and face put him in the $3,000 class can hope to succeed when he attempts to speak for the $10,000 class.

Please do not understand me here to say, however, that a man must have the bodily measurements of an Apollo Belvidere, or a countenance leonine in grandeur. Many men of inferior physique and unhandsome features have risen to great heights in the art of influencing their fellow men by speech. What I *do* mean is that whatever physical endowments a man has and whatever resources of countenance he possesses should be developed to the highest degree.

Have you ever passed by a restaurant where good steaks were served at ninety cents and gone into the restaurant up the street where you paid a dollar and a half for a steak?

Why did you do it? It was because you liked *the way the dollar and fifty cent steak was served.* So it is with speaking. Whatever is said must be said with that subtle something called "style."

To determine what is good "style" in the bodily action and facial expression of a speaker, however, is by no means simple, for what is good in one place under certain conditions, in another place and under other conditions may be very bad.

Above all, however, in all places and under all conditions, *a speaker must possess physical well-being.* Let me repeat that a man may not be large or even strong, but he must have the appearance of good health. That mysterious and illusive force known as personal magnetism seems almost inseparably connected with a proper functioning of the human organism.

Keep Your Chest Up

Probably the most important factor in revealing the condition of physical health is the position of the chest. *Keep your chest up!* Don't "throw back your shoulders," but carry the necktie high. The chest should be kept high, simply because this is the attitude of natural courage, and if you assume this posture *you yourself* will *feel* more courageous and *your audience* will *think* you more courageous. This is not empirical advice. It is the scientific truth discovered by Professor James of Harvard, and Professor Lange of Copenhagen. Emotions are the result of bodily changes, and courage brings the chest up and cowardice brings it down. Recently I was talking to an army captain, who told me that soldiers are taught to keep the chest up, not only because they look better, but because they make more courageous soldiers if they maintain this attitude. Stand erect, then, because you yourself will be more courageous and the attitude bespeaks courage to your audience, and courage is a manifestation of superb physical well-being, which is magnetic.

The Waistline In

Another important point in giving the impression of good health is the position of the abdomen. *Do not protrude your*

waistline. The attitude that allows the waistline to protrude has been called the *lordosis* attitude. The name is well chosen, for a protruding abdomen always gives the idea of false importance, of "lording it over" everybody, or bombast, while the successful speaker seeks modesty and sincerity. You can never force a speech down the throats of your auditors, for you thus arouse their hostility, and the protruding waistline always fosters this antagonism. In addition, this attitude stretches the abdominal muscles and prevents the strong strokes at the waist that are so necessary under normal speaking conditions. To correct this attitude place the fingers upon the hip bones and gently force them backward a little. This changes the angle between the backbone and the leg bones and causes the waistline to retreat to its proper place. *A well set-up man should somewhat resemble a bull*—he should be rather heavy about the fore-quarters!

The Neck Erect

Further, good health is revealed by the position of the neck in reference to the spinal column. Beware of the desk-neck! Many of our luncheon speakers have evolved from executive chairs. In their former environment they bent all day long over reports and letters, and when they left the desk they forgot to leave the desk-posture behind. As a result, as they stand before an audience, their necks strike forward at a marked angle with the backbone. This results in either a weak posture of the head, posed upon a "swan-like" neck—certainly not persuasive with an audience looking forward to hearing something from a strong masculine character—or, in other cases, to the thrusting forward of the chin, which gives the attitude of aggressiveness and pugnacity, which is equally undesirable. Always, too, the desk-neck interferes with proper vocal technique, for to secure the best tones, the chin should be well in.

All these things, the keeping of the chest up, the keeping of the waistline in, and the keeping of the neck erect, have to do with the general impression of physical well-being. Their effect is subtle but nevertheless powerful, and every speaker

will do well to consider them carefully. Exercises are of little benefit in securing them, except in revealing what is wrong. Rather than practice exercises, the speaker should *seek to make the proper posture a habit by constantly giving attention to it.*

The following advice in regard to a speaker's general posture by Professor Hollister,[1] of the University of Michigan, is worthy of careful study:

> The speaker should seek to make his standing position and general bearing strong, erect, dignified, and free. He should practice standing with his feet separated and one foot advanced slightly so that he has the greatest strength and freedom of movement. He should readjust the position of his feet on the floor until he can sway the body from side to side, forward and backward, and in a circular way, with the greatest freedom and security. His body should be so poised that the weight may be equally distributed over both feet or easily shifted from one foot to the other. He should stand at his fullest height and not allow the weight to settle down on one foot in a tired, slouching manner, with one hip thrust out and the body crooked. He should look at himself in a large mirror to see if he is plumb; to see if his body is symmetrical with respect to a vertical plane drawn through the center of his chest and the center of his image in the glass. He should examine himself to see if his head wilts forward or is cocked on one side or the other, if one shoulder is lower than the other, if one side of his body is turned toward the image in the glass more than the other side. As he stands before the mirror he should adjust himself until he looks symmetrical and erect; until he looks as strong, as manly, as self-possessed, as worthy of respect and confidence as is possible. In this way he should study himself as an audience would see him. When he has adjusted his image in the glass until it looks the best to him, he should shut his eyes and try to get the general physical and moral sensation that belongs with that image. He should practice until the feeling that goes with the image is fixed upon him and he is able to reproduce the image in himself without the aid of the mirror. He should walk about the room sustaining this feeling of strength and ease, occasionally returning to the mirror to see if the image is right. As he walks along the street, or has other opportunity, he should practice this bearing. In this way he will establish better habits of standing and walking, which will be used unconsciously on the platform. Only by building up good habits while off the platform can the speaker hope to use them while on the platform.

[1] F. D. T. Hollister, p. 350 of *Speech Making,* George Wahr, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Walking the Platform

The speaker's manner of "walking the platform" is important in creating a favorable or unfavorable impression. Usually very little walking about on the platform is needed. A little stepping backward and forward and a little turning from side to side is all that is needed However, as the size of the audience increases, it will be found of advantage to move about more freely, and then it behooves the speaker to consider carefully just how he is moving. On the whole, most of the movement on the platform should be done in the shape of the letter V, that is, if the speaker finds himself at the extreme right of the platform and wishes to go to the extreme left, he should first retire a few steps obliquely toward the center of the platform and then come out obliquely again toward the left. During this whole movement, the eyes should not be taken from the audience. If a speaker's table is upon the platform, and the speaker wishes to go to the other side of the table, he should follow the same procedure, never taking his eyes from the audience. It is not well to drop the eyes to the floor, or direct them to the side of the room, or to turn the back or side to the audience while walking around a table. A speaker should probably very rarely walk straight across the front of the platform from one side to the other, and, above all, a speaker should not "walk over his foot," that is, he should not, if upon the right side of the platform, lift the right foot over the left, in beginning his steps toward the left side of the platform. It is always best, also, when stopping on the extreme right of the platform to keep the right foot slightly advanced, and when stopping on the extreme left of the platform to keep the left foot slightly advanced, for, otherwise, the speaker is in danger of turning a "cold shoulder" upon a part of his audience.

Let Your Hands Hang at Your Sides

But there are other matters of appearance besides general posture which the speaker should consider. One of the most important of these is what shall be done with the hands. *Let your hands hang at your sides.* Most inexperienced speakers

prefer to put their hands behind them—and that is just the reason you should not do it. The position with the hands behind the back is a position of refuge. One feels he can better control nervous disturbance if he "grabs onto something," and if he may "hang onto" one of his hands behind his back he feels relief; and, moreover, he feels that the audience cannot see him do it! But beware of the delusion. Although the audience may not "figure it all out" this way, they are subconsciously aware of the ruse, and almost always set less store by what the speaker says. It takes more "nerve" to let your hands hang at your sides, and therefore this position bespeaks greater power. Of course, an experienced speaker may occasionally put his hands behind his back, provided he does it in a perfectly relaxed way, but on the whole, it is better to avoid it. Be especially careful, however, if you do put your hands behind your back to let them hang, loosely locked; never clamp them tightly, and do not place them high over the back.

"May I put my hands in my trousers' pockets?" is a question often asked. Yes, if the occasion is not very formal. But don't keep them there long. This position is also one of refuge in many cases, and consequently detracts. If a frock coat is worn, often the thumb is dropped into the trouser pocket. This is more a piece of symbolic action, however, meaning, "I am now becoming less formal and am putting my hand in my pocket," rather than a real putting of the hand in the pocket.

"May I put my fingers in my vest pocket?" is another common question. This, I believe, is almost always bad. It usually accompanies a protruding waistline and appears egotistical. You may drop your hands, one or both, into the pockets of your business coat, letting the thumbs remain out, but do not overwork this attitude.

"May I press my fingers on the table and lean forward over the table?" lawyers often ask. Unquestionably the attitude seems to come from the counsel table. It is not bad, if it does not become a habit, but most men who allow themselves this indulgence seem to be unable to control it, and thus hamper their upright and forthright power.

Grasping one or both lapels of the coat does not seem bad for a moment or two, but no one, at least within city precincts,

feels that it is allowable to thrust one's thumbs in the armholes of his waistcoat. Usually only women drop their hands together in front.

Another good reason for letting the hands hang at the sides is that they are then ready, on the instant, to be used in gesture, whereas if they are behind one, or in the pockets, there is delay in getting them into action, and also some reluctance.

Gestures

But a speaker's hands are not always at rest, and certain considerations in regard to their use when in action should be observed. On the whole, gestures and general platform movement become more important as the size of the audience increases. Before a committee, or small body of hearers, unless the discussion becomes more than ordinarily animated, little gesture and movement is necessary. On the other hand, in an auditorium seating several thousand hearers, a speech without some gesture or platform movement would seem extremely wooden and ineffective. Two reasons may be assigned for this fact. In the first place, in the case of the small audience, the hearers are close to the speaker and can see the least change in his face, and the slightest movement of his hands or body, thus being able to make up their minds just how the speaker feels about what he is saying. In the case of the large audience, the hearers are so far away that a good deal of the speaker's facial expression is lost, as are a good many of the smaller movements of his hands and body. Consequently, if the speaker is to show the audience how he feels about what he is saying, he must "write large" his responses to his thoughts. This means that the fist must supplement the frown in anger, that some movement of the arms and hands must supplement the lowered chest in discouragement, and that, in general, some bodily response must be resorted to which the audience can plainly see. The second reason why more action is needed in the large auditorium is that the emotions of the speaker usually run higher before the "great throng" than before the committee. It is only when popular emotions run high that a really large crowd can be secured, and, if the popular emotions are running

high, naturally the speaker himself will be more highly charged with emotion, and if he is not to act a falsehood in his speech, he must give vent to this emotion in action. Further, the very presence of the vast audience usually stimulates a speaker, so that he naturally rises to higher planes of thought and emotion.

Let it not be inferred, however, from what has been said, that the speech before the committee or board of directors should be devoid of gesture and movement, or that at times, if the occasion demands it, the action should not be vigorous and emphatic. Circumstances must always govern the speaker's general reaction. On the whole, however, a speaker will feel the need for action much more before a large audience than before a small one.

A very important thing for every student of speaking to remember is that "the whole man is present in every speech." This means that we do not react "piecemeal" to a situation but that the whole human organism is present in every reaction. It will do little good (and may do harm) to practice assiduously some gesture of the hand, without bringing the whole body into harmony with it. Likewise to practice facial expression without attention to general posture and movement of the arms and hands would, in general, be folly. Posture, movement, gesture, facial expression—all should be coördinated.

In all gestures used to emphasize a thought, the body, head, and hand should take the same general direction. This is merely to say that the speaker should not scatter his forces, but should concentrate them upon a single objective. If the body is pointing in one direction, the head and eyes in another, and the hand in still another, it is plain to see that a speaker is dissipating his power. Have one of your friends execute a fist gesture, first looking at you, but allowing his body to point to one corner of the room and his fist to another, and then directing his body, face and eyes, and also his fist, directly toward you, and you will feel the increased power of the latter position. Let him try the same method with the open hand, palm up, and with the index finger, and also with the open hand, palm down.

You may think that in concentrating all your force this way upon one part of your audience you are neglecting other parts,

but such is not the case, for one part of the audience delights in seeing you direct even to another part, and if you are agile in getting from one part of the audience to another, every part will receive due attention in time. It was said that when President McKinley spoke, every member of the audience went away feeling that McKinley had looked him in the eye at least once. Further, directing the body first this way to support a gesture and then that, removes the wooden effect that so many speakers give by keeping the body always to the front, while the head and hands turn about from place to place. Of course one should never allow his head to point steadily forward and turn his eyes from side to side. In addition, also, the agreement of direction in the face and eyes, the body, and the hands give the impression of being at home as a speaker.

In the action of the hand and arm, in making gestures, *get the elbow free from the body.* Even slight embarrassment seems to make the elbow cling to the body, and when a speaker fails to get the elbow well removed from the side an audience instinctively feels that he is embarrassed, which, of course, lessens the speaker's power. Also, *see that there is a distinct stroke, a movement up and down, at the wrist.* This gives point and meaning to the gesture. A gesture made with the hand and forearm acting as one long, straight rod lacks not only grace, but effectiveness. With the action of the wrist, secure a slight movement of the elbow also. Try these things before your mirror, and your own sense of grace and power will give you valuable aid in developing good gesture.

Again, *make your emphatic gestures over your forward foot.* The old law that every student of physics learned in the high school comes into play here—"the line of direction must fall within the base." Translated into terms of speechmaking, this means that if you extend the weight of your hand and arm in front of you, your foot must be forward to support it, or else you must protrude the back part of the body to maintain your balance, a procedure which makes for an ungraceful pose. One very good way to avoid error in the poise of the body is to make all of your emphatic declarations to the right side of your audience over the right foot, using the right hand, and all of your emphatic utterances to the left side of your audience over the

left foot, using the left hand. Be careful in all of this not to let your shoulder get too far forward, for this turns the body away from the general direction it should have, which is toward those addressed.

Sometimes however, if dignity and reserve power are present, a speaker makes an emphatic gesture with his weight upon the back foot, but in this case there is little attempt to get forward to the audience. The gesture generally comes down near the speaker's body. The effect is that of an *ex cathedra* utterance, the speaker relying upon his authority and personal influence.

Kinds of Gestures

Gestures have been variously classified according to their purpose. Some are locative, that is, they are used to locate things. Others are descriptive. Some are suggestive, that is, they suggest ideas. Still others are emphatic, used to give greater force to the ideas which they accompany.

Locative gestures are found in such expressions as "Yonder is the tree," "The road runs along the top of that ridge yonder." In these gestures the speaker's eyes ordinarily first flit to the scene that is being pointed out, and then immediately come back to the audience. In case a scene is being painted in an extremely vivid manner, the speaker's eyes often stay with the imagined scene for some time.

Descriptive gestures are just what the name implies—they are gestures which aid words in describing anything. When we say, "The smoke rolled up and up toward the sky," we very likely use a rolling motion of the hand to show how the smoke rolled. If a speaker should say, "As I stood there and watched that great volume of water tumbling over the precipice, I was filled with wonder," he would very properly use a descriptive gesture to show how the water tumbled.

Descriptive gestures often are quite closely confined in scope, that is, they do not move through great distances. For instance, in the last example, if the speaker were behind a speaker's desk, he might simply move the hand from the wrist. In such cases descriptive gestures become suggestive, merely starting the imagination of the hearers in the right direction.

Gesture is used suggestively also to show the speaker's moods. For instance, if a speaker should say: "As for these objections we hear, let them go," he might very well shrug his shoulders, or use the open hand with the palm up in a gesture of tossing them aside. Sometimes such gestures are called "manifestive" gestures, for they manifest the feelings of the speaker. A frown, for example, used in the sentence, "I can't understand this attitude of the opposition," would manifest the speaker's uncertainty or struggle.

Emphatic gestures are among the most common gestures that speakers use. When a speaker says: "These are the cold, hard facts, and you cannot get away from them," and supplements his words by the use of his fist, he is using emphatic gesture. Emphatic gestures are almost always necessary for spirited or earnest speaking. The thought and emotion takes hold of the whole body, and words seem inadequate to express the meaning of the whole man.

There used to be a rule for speakers which said, "Never use literal action for figurative language," and under this rule inexperienced speakers were adjured not to point to their own bosoms on such a phrase as "The great heart of South Carolina," and not to go through the motions of climbing a ladder on such a phrase as "Climbing up the ladder of fame." The concrete instances cited were good, but the general rule is probably wrong. Professor Winans, of Dartmouth College, says on this point: "When it is said that we should never use those gestures which indicate a literal carrying out of the figurative language, this might be understood as denying our most primitive use of gesture, and as forbidding one to make a wry face when one speaks of a 'bitter pill,' or as a criticism of the Crow Indian who told me the sermon we had listened to was a 'high-up talk,' with hand held above his head. Perhaps it is sufficient to say, keep always in mind the fact that a figurative statement is figurative. Also be careful of faded metaphors. A speaker once extended his arm when he mentioned 'the arm of a crane.' I saw a debater, describing what he considered the repeated encroachments of England upon the Transvaal, move down the platform one step for each encroachment."

Grace in gesture was probably more sought after in former

years than at present, but it still is effective. We would no longer tolerate the broad, sweeping, unnecessary curves indulged in by the old-time elocutionist, but even to-day there is a charm about graceful gestures that is not present in jerky, abrupt, and angular gestures. The curved line is probably more satisfying to the eye on ordinary occasions than the straight line, but it should not be deliberately sought after. It comes into gestures as a result of poise and coördination, and disappears in gestures when a speaker has gone beyond poise, as in heated discussion, and has become explosive and unreserved. It is probably possible to say that curves disappear in gestures in the proportion that earnestness appears.

It almost goes without saying that there should be reserve in gesture. A speaker who uses up his whole repertory of gesture in the milder parts of his speech, has nothing left to fall back upon when he really becomes in earnest. Gestures are supports for words, and as long as the words can carry the full meaning of the speaker, there is no need to resort to them. When the speaker feels, however, that he must supplement his words in order to convey his whole meaning and how he feels about what he says, he should not hesitate to use gesture, and to use it freely.

Facial Expression

But the use of gesture by a speaker, important as it is, falls far short of being as vital to his success as his facial expression. The face is man's most expressive agent for the communication of his feelings. The muscles of the countenance are small and consequently are the first to respond to an emotion, and, on account of this fact, are closely watched, although unconsciously, by the auditors to detect the full import of what is being said. But many speakers totally neglect this source of power. They speak with a mask-like countenance that never changes no matter what particular emotion may be wrapped up in the words they are uttering. Do not imagine that I am advocating the perfect galaxy of grimaces that the elocutionist of former days demanded. Far from it! But *there should be sane, conservative changes in the expression on a speaker's face according to the emotional demands of the situation.*

Two facial expressions, perhaps, rise above all others in their frequency and necessity. The first is *an expression of friendliness.* But do not substitute a silly grin for an expression of sincere friendliness! Your audience will surely be able to tell the difference. Do, however, try to be sincerely friendly, especially in beginning your speeches. Do not study your mirror, trying all kinds of smiles, but cultivate friendliness in all your life. A man cannot be a grouch all morning in his office, and then come before the noonday lunch-club and be friendly. The emotions must be woven into the warp and woof of his life. Faces in which the lines run up and down are rarely persuasive. See to it that the habitual lines of your countenance are more or less horizontal—those of the sincere smile, such as were seen in the face of President Harding—and you will add to your power.

The second emotion, rivaling closely the emotion of friendliness, is *earnestness.* Earnestness is akin to yearning. It denotes an intense desire. It means a girding up of the loins to the accomplishment of the task in hand. No speaker in driving home his important sentences can afford to lack the visible signs of this deep spiritual characteristic. Usually there is a lowering and wrinkling of the brow, together with a slight narrowing of the corners of the mouth and eyes. The frown is vitally essential, and is usually accompanied by a more vigorous articulation.

Other emotional changes of the countenance—a myriad of them—of course there are, and the greater the speaker the greater his command of them, but they are not to be secured through facial athletics, but rather by a true cultivation of the emotional nature. Read some poetry aloud every day, throw yourself into it with all the true and carefully graduated emotion you are able to summon, emotion that springs from clearly picturing yourself in the situation of the poet or character involved, and you may be confident of a deepening spiritual power that will be reflected in your face, and will greatly aid you in influencing your fellow men.

A speaker probably never reaches his full powers until he is free in gesture and facial expression. His voice and his rhetoric will both be better when he is free in his action. To

become free, it is necessary to practice much before a mirror, and, if possible, to seek the advice of a friendly critic. In regard to practicing before a mirror, Professor Hollister, who has already been quoted, has this to say: "If the speaker will stand before the mirror and talk to his image as he would to an audience, he may be able to see the movements of his hands, head, face, and feet, and in this way correct the more glaring faults in his physical speech. If his hands flap at his sides too much in half-formed gesture, if his gestures are too extended, too sweeping, too far to the side, too angular, too stiff, too limp, too late, too numerous, he may notice it and be able to correct his faults. If his head wags too much, and his shoulders twitch, if his neck is wooden, and his arms are bound to his body, if his eyes look askance too often, he may see these things and mend them. If he moves his mouth too much in speaking, frowns or smiles without cause, or blinks too often, he may also discover this. Two serious faults, however, he cannot see, and these are the vacant staring, and the unsteady shifting of the eyes. However, he will become conscious of these, for the moment his eyes shift from the image in the glass or look through the image into space, he will be unable to see the image clearly. His vision ceases to be properly centered and properly focused for direct speaking. By this method he may learn to look steadily at others."

But even if a speaker follows all the suggestions that have here been laid down, he may still fail. *The speaker must see to it that the amount of his gesture and bodily movement, and the quality and intensity of his emotions, fit in with the situation in which he finds himself.*

A speech given in a bare hall to an audience of laboring men will differ from that given in a richly draped and decorated hotel parlor to an audience of club women. Before the laboring men there would need to be a large amount of strong, virile gesture, and an enlarged play of bold and clear-cut emotions. Before the club women there would be more limited and refined action, and more subtle and polite emotion. Salesmen and men of active habits require more vitality in delivery than do teachers or sedentary office men. In fact, to address desk-men with violent gestures and intense emotions is to insult them and

antagonize them. You must decide, too, whether you wish immediate response to your appeal, or whether you merely desire to sow the seed for a future harvest. Immediate response demands more emotion and speed, while the triumph of the intellect at a future time may safely be left to a cold matter-of-fact presentation of sound argument, in which the body is comparatively passive and the face comparatively unmoved. But a speaker must largely learn these things by experience, although many valuable hints may be gained from carefully watching and analyzing successful and unsuccessful speakers.

Last of all, *be careful in selecting your tailor.* Many a good speech, well delivered by an A-1 man, has lost considerable power because of an ill-fitting suit. Any discussion of the tailor's art belongs to a tailor's magazine, but watch the dress of successful speakers. Don't, however, wear a belt. Personal efficiency, generally, is against it, and a speaker, especially, on account of the strong waist-strokes needed, finds a belt uncomfortable. Be careful, too, about the fit of the collar. Don't wear too large a collar, nor too high a one, nor too low a one, and see to it that it doesn't "ride your vest." In this whole matter of dress, if you can't quite decide what is wrong with your dress, consult the best haberdasher that you can find.

In regard to platform appearance, this much is sure—if you will consider carefully your physical well-being, if you will carefully criticize your posture, movement, and gesture, if you will be careful to cultivate sane and true emotions in all your life, if you will carefully consider various audiences and their needs, and if you will ponder carefully all matters of dress, you will be sure to improve your speaking.

HYGIENE OF THE VOICE

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THERE is at least one marked difference between the singer and speaker in so far as the matter of voice production is concerned; namely, that few if any singers ever think seriously of doing public work with any hope of credit to themselves unless after some months or years of training by a teacher of singing. A speaker is, however, regarded as something of a success if his voice is big enough to be heard, regardless of manner or method. He may know little or nothing of "placement" or "resonance," and he probably cares less, the whole effort being centered on having his message "go over."

Now this often does very well, at least for a time, but under the strain and stress of public campaigning or other prolonged effort, "the voice gives out" as the newspapers tell us. One very readily accepts the explanation of overuse, and that is, of course, a factor, but it is not the whole story. If the speaker has a structurally normal vocal apparatus free from congestion due to infection, and if he knows how to make proper use of it, there are scarcely any limits as to what he can do with it. But let us go back a moment to certain fundamentals.

Voice is produced at the larynx by the vibrating vocal cords stirred to activity by air waves which strike up from below. This statement, however, will not suffice as a definition because it is not sufficiently comprehensive or inclusive. Not the throat alone, but every part of the body contributes its share, —the nose, accessory nasal sinuses or resinators, mouth cavity,

pharynx, teeth, lips, tongue, lungs, bony thorax, diaphragm, thoracic and abdominal muscles—all, of course, under the control of the will as expressed through the central nervous system and spinal cord.

There are three main factors to be considered: 1. The motive power factor; that is, the abdominal and thoracic muscles, and the diaphragm. 2. The vibratory factor (vocal cords). 3. The resonantic factor, or that part of the anatomy which reinforces sound; namely, the pharynx, mouth and accessory resonators (nasal sinuses). Variations from the normal in any single one of these three, or vagaries of combinations of any two of them, may produce an abnormal voice—either superlatively good or abnormally bad.

Sound is produced in the larynx, but articulation, or the transformation of meaningless sound into voice, is performed in the mouth. In speaking, therefore, the two parts work together, the larynx sending out a stream of sound and the mouth by means of the tongue, cheeks, palate, teeth and lips breaking it up into variously formed jets or words.

Suppose now there is some fault of structure or function in any one of the three elements named above; that is, let us assume that the nose is obstructed by bony growths or polypi or chronic discharge. The voice will then be poorly reinforced or resonated, and nearly the entire stress of the vocal effort will lie across the level of the larynx, thus making greater demands on that organ than it can tolerate. The speedy result is hoarseness, poor carrying power, and ineffectual effort.

Again let us assume that there is some growth on the vocal cords which keeps one or both of them from vibrating normally—the result is hoarseness and weak voice. Such cases are not infrequently treated as laryngitis until seen by a physician who is skillful with the laryngeal mirror, when the diagnosis is self-evident.

Finally, assume that the body musculature is weak, congenitally, or from lack of developmental exercise—it becomes impossible to do big tone work, there is little volume, and, no reserve power where great effort is required.

As for the throat itself, correct function of the vocal cords

fundamental law and the one which is most frequently violated. The campaign speaker is always confounding big, burly voice with strong argument, and the ambitious singer is always mistaking a big brawling tone for genuine art. Accuracy of method should be the first consideration.

Everyone should know quite exactly his natural vocal limits, and not make himself ridiculous by attempting to do things quite out of his reach, not only for his own sake, but to spare pain and discomfort to his auditors. First in this connection is an instinctive knowledge of distance—so to modulate the voice that a fine well-poised tone will go spinning to the topmost gallery with the same ease as a sentence or phrase delivered forte. If a speaker hears his own voice very loudly there is evidently much rebound, and he is not being heard by others nearly so well as he thinks.

The speech must be slow, fairly light, with good lip and tongue action. The voice should be directed forward against the upper teeth and hard palate, and increased and diminished in a monotone. Certain syllabic exercises such as the "no, na, nu, ni, nā," and the "co, ro, mo," varieties sung with moderate strength in middle voice are helpful. During these exercises special attention must be paid to the breathing.

Anything which disturbs the automatic singing act, every adventitious element in the tone-producing and tone-resonating apparatus, violates the fundamental principle that the least exertion should secure the greatest effect. The voice must be handled as an individual problem. The psychic element, mental poise, and suggestion are all important.

Weakness of the voice, or phonasthenia as it is now commonly known, is a disturbance in which a given voluntary impulse to the vocal bands is not followed by a normal tonal effect—that is to say, the produced tone is higher or lower than the intended tone, is unpleasant to the ear, and has no staying nor carrying power.

The fundamental cause of this difficulty is in many cases faulty voice placement. Just as many people never learn to walk, some never learn to speak properly.

Voice fatigue in speaking is often due to the fact that the voice is pitched too high; i. e., above its normal range. Accord-

ing to Spiess, the most favorable tone register for speakers is about three tones below the middle of the voice range. The patient should be taught by a teacher of expression how to secure and maintain a proper relationship between the natural voice and the height necessary to declamatory demands.

Phonasthenia is a condition which affects nearly all ages and both sexes. Voices of high pitch are especially susceptible, because not infrequently they have poor carrying power, and the user is always making an effort to be heard distinctly by all. Teachers, preachers, stump speakers, vendors, telephone operators, and singers are most frequently affected.

The symptoms of phonasthenia are definite and certain. There is a sudden and severe hoarseness or huskiness, tendency to clear the throat constantly, discomfort in the sides of the neck and discomfort on swallowing. There is no sign of an active inflammatory process, although redness is pronounced if the condition is aggravated by vocal effort.

Chronic diseases are a potent cause of voice fatigue; chronic tonsillitis with concrement formation is especially important. Nasal growths and deformities, purulent discharges, and chronic hypersecretion are also frequently responsible agencies.

No one who is dependent upon his voice for a livelihood should take chances with chronic, diseased tonsils; for these little organs are likely to flare up at any moment, and either cause the cancellation of an engagement, or, if one chooses to go on, may be the cause of making an unfavorable impression upon an audience. In adults, the best treatment is total removal with the capsule, and the best surgical method is under local anesthesia—cocaine or procaine.

How long should the voice of a speaker last? With good vocal equipment, few and mild infections (colds), and proper usage, a voice should last about as long as its owner has reason to use it. In women, this is ordinarily about fifty or fifty-five years; in men about sixty. Certain it is that abuse rather than use shortens its span; that, if badly used, its period is short; and that, if wisely used, there are no definite limitations except certain changes in quality that go along with changes in the tissues as one grows older.

As to the care of the voice, one must make every effort to avoid infections of the nose and throat. Scarcely anything is more harmful than to sing or talk straight through a severe laryngitis, as it puts a strain upon the vocal cords which they are not fitted to withstand. Therefore one must endeavor to avoid drafts, wet feet, sudden chilling of the body surface, and, above all, contact with those having colds. This counsel is practically impossible to follow because of the exigencies of modern civilization, the crowding and massing of people in great cities, and the ignorance and willfulness of those who sneeze and cough without shielding the face, thus broadcasting millions of bacteria which must be inhaled by unsuspecting and helpless persons. Expectorating in public is disgusting, and of course unsanitary; but it does not approach in harmfulness the pollution of the air in crowded, inclosed public places by those who will not use a handkerchief.

In order to cleanse the nose many people have the habit of spraying or douching while performing the morning toilet. A nasal douche should not be used as a routine procedure. This is definite. However, if there is much free discharge (crusts), one may use any of the good alkaline preparations now on the market, taking especial care not to blow the nose forcibly afterwards. So-called normal saline or physiologic salt solution is, perhaps, as helpful as anything which is sold over the counter. This is made by putting a level teaspoonful of ordinary table salt (not shaker salt) into a pint of water at body temperature, roughly about 100° F. Where there is much discharge one should make up a quart, using two teaspoonfuls of salt. The ordinary household douche bag is excellent for this purpose. It can be fitted with a glass tip—a medicine dropper of fairly large caliber is excellent for the purpose—and hung about a foot and a half above the head. If there is much discharge as in acute sinus infection, suction and irrigation by means of the Nichols' nasal syphon will cleanse the nose better than any other method, but it should never be used save upon the advice of a physician.

Following douching, only very slight snuffing should be allowed, placing one finger against a nostril so that only one side of the nose at a time will be submitted to air pressure.

To relieve the nose of stuffiness an atomizer is always safer even if not so efficacious as douching.

In order to keep one's general physical condition up to a high mark, systematic general exercise is absolutely essential. Fencing, swimming, gymnastics, such as dumb-bell exercises, etc., all have their advocates; but, unless one has a definite time each day planned out for it, preferably under the supervision of an instructor, exercise is likely to be very irregularly carried out; and, hence, with little or no benefit.

Vocal exercise should, of course, be part of the day's routine, particularly breathing. Singers before going on have a way of "warming up" the voice by running the musical scale, first pianissimo, or softly, and then forte. It is impossible in an article of this kind to give exercises of practical value. That can best be done by a teacher, but where the services of a teacher cannot be secured, one can get some valuable suggestions from a book by Professor Gutzmann entitled, "Gymnastics of the Voice," which was published a few years ago in New York by Edgar S. Werner.

With respect to bad vocal habits, and the effort to acquire the opposite through thought and painstaking practice, one is sometimes asked whether silence preceding a performance is not wise; that is, Would it not be a good thing to give the voice absolute rest before "going on"?

Brouc lays it down as a rule that the most absolute silence must be observed during the whole day before using the voice in the evening. This counsel of perfection is, of course, for actors, but if the rule is sound it must apply to speakers of all kinds. It is hard to believe that such an ultra-Trappistical code is beneficial, even supposing that anyone could be found to adhere scrupulously to it.

That the voice should not be exerted as in prolonged declamation, or even much speaking in noisy streets, cabs or trains, everyone will agree to, but absolute silence would probably be rather injurious than otherwise.

As in all other matters of life, sound, practical common sense should govern the singer's acts. Mackenzie cites the curious case of a lady who was in the habit of drinking a glass of cold water immediately after leaving the stage. This

must have been a great shock to the nerves, and is certainly not to be recommended.

The matter of diet is more or less of a bugaboo both to singers and speakers. Personally, I have no faith or belief in dietary fads of any kind. Those who advertise a special kind of bread or cereal to vocalists are either cranks or ignorant enthusiasts. The diet should be a mixed one of fats, carbohydrates and proteids, with a reduction in the intake of meat proteid after middle life, and a reduction in quantity both of meat and vegetables as a whole. A good meal after prolonged vocal effort is in order, but immediately preceding an engagement one should eat sparingly.

Any disorder of the stomach or intestines should be treated promptly and cured by a specialist, particularly if there is a bad taste in the mouth, or a burning sensation much of the time. This not infrequently indicates stomach hyperacidity which causes congestion of the larynx and excessive secretion of mucus. Mucus on the cords makes the voice husky and uncertain, calling for a frequent clearing of the throat or "A-hem." Very often this indicates a chronic catarrh of the larynx and requires persistent and prolonged treatment to effect permanent relief.

RULES FOR SPEAKERS

By WALTER ROBINSON

Be prepared
Speak distinctly
Look your audience in the eyes
Favor your deep tones
Speak deliberately
Cultivate earnestness
Be logical

Don'ts for Speakers:

Don't be afraid of your voice
Don't forget your audience can think
Don't be ashamed of your own opinion
Don't cover too much ground
Don't forget to practice

First Aid to Speakers:

Know your subject
Be prepared and don't rely on inspiration
Originality comes from meditation
Have a definite purpose
Avoid irrelevancy
Believe and feel what you say
Be sincere, earnest and enthusiastic
Don't hurry into your subject
Wait for attention
Begin in a conversational tone but loud enough to be heard
Don't force gestures
Cultivate the straightforward open eye

Don't walk about while speaking
Don't be didactic
Good diction is a passport recognized by everyone
Let your grammar, vocabulary, and pronunciation be the best
Cultivate a genial manner
Pauses are of great oratorical value
Write much and often
Read aloud and regularly
The best way to learn to speak is to speak

PRINCIPLES OF EFFECTIVE RADIO SPEAKING

By RAYMOND C. BORDEN

Instructor in Radio Speaking in New York University

FOREWORD

Most of the principles of effective platform speaking carry over as principles of effective radio speaking. It is not my purpose in the present article to review this common body of theory. I wish, rather, to confine myself to such points of technique as distinguish the radio speech from other speech forms.

In the winter of 1924 the program manager of one of our largest eastern broadcasting stations put two questions to his radio public:

1. Does radio speaking call for the development of a special technique?
2. If so, upon what principles should this technique be based?

The first of these two questions, radio listeners found no difficulty in answering at once. Yes! radio speaking did call for a specialized technique, a technique contradistinguished in many ways from that of ordinary face-to-face speaking. No doubt about *that!*

In the first place, they pointed out, the face-to-face speaker could look at the people in his audience as he talked, note their reactions to his words, sense their shifting emotional attitudes, tell when they were interested and when they weren't—

and be guided accordingly. The radio speaker had no such guide. Sphinx-like, the microphone could tell him nothing.

Again, the face-to-face speaker could count on his physical personality to attract and hold interest—by movement on the platform, by facial expression, by eye contact, by gesture. The radio speaker could count on nothing of the sort. Into the microphone he went—only a voice; out of the loud speaker he came—only a voice, a disembodied voice crying for attention in an acoustic wilderness of static, code and heterodyning, struggling to hold attention, once claimed, unaided by the flash of the speaker's eye, the sweep of the speaker's hand, the visual dominance of the speaker's corporeal presence.

These, and still other considerations, the radio public interpreted as ample justification for their offhand answer to question No. 1.

Question No. 2 proved harder to answer. Upon what principles did the assumed specialized technique of the radio speaker rest? Different persons offered different suggestions. To settle the question an authoritative and thoroughly representative research committee was formed, consisting of practically all the radio editors of the New York City press together with a sizable group of experienced radio announcers, lecturers, program managers, university voice experts, studio directors and engineers.

This committee, in which the writer was privileged to function as an associate director, conducted a series of practical tests calculated to determine the distinguishing characteristics of effective radio speaking. Records were made of the addresses of representative radio lecturers by means of special equipment. These records were then utilized for purposes of analysis, comparison and jury rating. Several prominent announcers were trained to change their delivery technique in accordance with the committee's tentative recommendations. The reactions of the public to these changes were then carefully noted and interpreted as meaning either ratification or rejection. Thus, as a result of constant experimentation, a program of "rules and regulations" for radio speakers was finally drawn up.

It is this program which furnishes the basis for the principles of effective radio speaking discussed in the following pages.

(A) PRINCIPLES OF SPEECH DELIVERY

I. Rate

1. For maximum effectiveness, the radio speaker should talk at an average rate of approximately 165 words a minute.

The tendency of most radio speakers is not to exceed this speed limit but, rather, to talk too slowly—at an average rate of from 100 to 120 words a minute. This tendency is probably due to a mistaken notion that a more rapid delivery is incompatible with the mechanical difficulties of radio transmission and reception.

An overdeliberate radio speaker is almost certain to lose his audience at the end of a very few minutes. A brisk radio speaker transmits with perfect clarity, provided his enunciation is reasonably good, and he has a *much better chance of holding his audience.*

The radio speaker is only a voice, remember. His listeners cannot sustain their interest by looking at him when he pauses. The frequent pauses characteristic of a deliberate delivery register on the air as total blanks.

2. For maximum effectiveness, the radio speaker should inject into his delivery marked rate variations.

That is to say, while maintaining the rate average noted above, he should talk, now relatively rapidly, now relatively slowly. An important key clause, he can deliver with some deliberation; an unimportant qualifying phrase, by way of contrast, he can brush over quickly. Such changes of pace constitute one of the three Variety Stimuli essential to the retention of the audience's interest. The remaining two stimuli in this category we shall discuss in connection with pitch and volume.

II. Pitch

1. According to the æsthetic judgment of a preponderating majority of radio listeners, the radio speaker

should strive for an average voice pitch of "low middle range."

Just why this æsthetic judgment should have been so clearly formulated by the radio public is a matter of considerable mystery. But there it is, none the less. It is because of this principle that most broadcasting stations refuse to hire women announcers and are even reluctant to schedule women speakers for lectures.

2. For maximum effectiveness, the radio speaker should inject into his delivery marked pitch variations.

The adjective "marked" in the foregoing principle deserves special note. It is not to be confused with "moderate" or "mild." *Marked* pitch variations constitute the second of the three VARIETY STIMULI essential to the retention of the radio audience's interest.

3. The radio speaker should be on the alert to avoid manneristic or uninterpretative pitch variations.

Although pitch variation is an end in itself through its bearing on the psychology of attention, it cannot be divorced from its equally important function of aiding in the interpretation of thought. Beware of meaningless intonations in the radio speech—particularly, mechanically recurrent rising or falling intonations at the end of breath-groups. Such defects are noticed in the radio speaker by even careless listeners—listeners who wouldn't think of looking for such a defect in a platform speaker.

III. VOLUME

1. For maximum effectiveness, the radio speaker should get fairly close to the microphone and talk quietly.

In this connection the vocal volume adapted to a moderately animated conversation between two friends at a dinner table may be accepted as a norm. Straining for volume by the radio

speaker is quite unnecessary in view of the fact that his voice can be electrically amplified to any desired degree by the turn of a switch in the control room.

2. The radio speaker should inject into his delivery marked volume variations.

Again note the use of the adjective "marked." Marked volume contrasts—i. e., vigorous stress placements on important words and phrases—constitute the last, and perhaps most significant, of the three VARIETY STIMULI essential for the retention of the radio audience's interest.

3. The radio speaker should take care that his volume variations do not become manneristic or uninterpretative.

Injudicious stress placements on unimportant words—mechanically recurrent stresses of initial or final words—show up in the radio speech as under an acoustic microscope.

IV. DISTINCTNESS

1. The radio speaker should enunciate distinctly, but not pedantically.

In this connection the standard of enunciation observed by cultured people in informal conversation may be accepted as a norm.

A speaker whose enunciation is impaired by a speech defect —whether due to foreign dialect, provincial dialect, or organic inadequacy—must recognize that he will be at a hopeless disadvantage "on the air." Correct all your speech defects before you appear before a radio audience—an audience, above all other audiences, critical of just such disturbances!

V. VISUALIZATION

1. The radio speaker should seek to visualize an audience as he speaks.

Not a large, formal audience seated in an auditorium, however. He should visualize, rather, a small, informal group of friends seated directly in front of him.

To this imaginary group of receptive human beings he should address his remarks—not to the unreceptive, inanimate microphone.

(B) PRINCIPLES OF SPEECH CONSTRUCTION

I. Length

The radio speech should seldom exceed ten minutes in length —never fifteen minutes. Even a highly effective radio delivery will fail to hold the attention of the average radio listener beyond the latter time limit.

II. Unity

The radio lecturer should confine himself to the treatment of one central idea in a given speech. Exceptions to this rule are few and unimportant. The mechanics of radio transmission as well as the psychology of the radio listener preclude the successful treatment of a complicated thesis involving several coördinate ideas.

III. Development

The central idea of the radio speech should be developed with a maximum of "human interest material"—that is, with plenty of concrete illustrations, anecdotes, colorful descriptions, narrative incidents, etc.

Courtesy may hold the attention of a platform speaker's audience. No such consideration weighs with a radio audience. If a radio speech is not interesting in substance, as well as animated in delivery—zip! a twist of the dial transports the audience *en masse* from the presence of the speaker.

IV. Humor

Whimsical anecdotes calculated to provoke a quiet smile are about as far as the radio speaker can safely go in the direction

of humor. In his long-distance contact with his audience there is lacking that delicate equilibrium of psychological stimuli necessary for the precipitation of a hearty laugh.

When the radio speaker does make an obvious attempt at humor, his joke or "wise-crack" usually falls flat—dismally flat!

V. Vocabulary

1. The radio speaker should refrain from using "big" words not in the ordinary, garden variety vocabulary. Due to the unanalyzed, and unanalyzable, nature of his audience, safety dictates that his vocabulary conform to a low common denominator of intellectual comprehension.

2. The radio speaker should taboo, as far as possible, all words which contain an unusually large proportion of breathed consonants. *Speech noises do not transmit as well as speech tones.*

Consider the word "stressed," for example. In this word, out of a total of six sound units, we find four breathed consonants—four speech noises. This is too high a proportion of breathed to voiced sounds. Such a word might easily lose out in transmission.

Most words which are taboo on account of their acoustic composition can be easily replaced by synonyms. Thus Stressed can be replaced by Emphasized—a word in which there are only two speech noises to seven speech tones.

VI. Sentence Structure

All critics of radio speaking are agreed that simplicity is the paramount test of good sentence structure. Stylistic considerations ordinarily quite important are either waived or modified greatly to conform with this key principle.

Ergo—in the radio speech use loose sentences rather than periodic, short sentences rather than long.

ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF RADIO SPEAKING

By RAYMOND C. BORDEN

For the first transmission of human voice by radio, we must go back as far as nineteen hundred. It was in this year, as the direct result of experiments conducted by the scientist Fessenden, that the radio speaker was born.

The concentrated development of all communication devices that occurred during the World War took the infant science of radio telephony out of the experimental laboratory and placed it on a thoroughly practical basis. Consequently, immediately after the war we find the radio speaker in the service of the American telephone system—a highly useful and extremely busy employee.

He is not a public speaker yet, however—please notice. At first no one thought of using radio telephony for any purpose other than point-to-point communication, as a substitute for a wire connection. But soon came the great idea of broadcasting! Tests conducted at Deal Beach, New Jersey, by the Westinghouse Electric Company with intent to correct the one still existing defect of radiophone communication—lack of secrecy—were picked up by hundreds of wireless telegraph amateurs located in the neighborhood. These amateurs had formerly been content to sit by the hour listening-in to the dots and dashes of code translation. Imagine how they felt when they suddenly began to hear human voices and music coming over the air! Imagine with what enthusiasm they prayed for a continuance of this new, entrancing form of entertainment! Thrill of thrills! Sensation of sensations!

Letters by the score flooded the Westinghouse experimental station at Deal—letters of fervid appreciation. With these letters came the realization that the lack of secrecy in radiophone communication was not a disadvantage at all, but its

most important asset—an asset destined to carry it into its own special and exclusive field, radio broadcasting.

Newspapers and business houses were quick to see in this broadcasting medium a wonderful means of advertising their activities. By entertaining the public, they could build up good will.

Now dawns the day of the radio speaker!

In November, 1920, radio broadcasting in America on an organized scale began. That very month, from the Westinghouse Electric Company's station, KDKA, radio speakers *broadcast* election returns to the nation. Two months later the Reverend E. J. VanEtten *broadcast* America's first radio sermon from the pulpit of the Calvary Episcopal Church of East Pittsburgh, Penn. Shortly thereafter the ranks of radio speakers were swelled by educators, politicians, college debaters, authors, newspaper editors, reviewers, sport experts—and reformers.

By 1921 the idea of broadcasting had gripped the nation, and radio progressed by leaps and bounds. When great events could not come to the station, the station now went to the events. Through the aid of "remote control" the radio public listened-in to national political conventions, presidential inaugural ceremonies, and regular sessions of state legislatures. Through the same aid it listened to the last public utterances of Harding and Wilson. Everything "went on the air."

From 1921 to the present the development of radio, and, with it, of radio speaking, has been so rapid as to almost defy chronicling. Radio broadcast stations have continued to spring up like mushrooms all over the country, first by tens, then by hundreds. Colleges and universities have established radio courses; newspapers, regular radio news services; health agencies, radio setting-up exercises every morning; domestic aid societies, systematic radio information for the benefit of housewives; cultural organizations, radio appreciations of literature and art.

And radio is still growing. When or where it will stop we don't know. But we do know this. The art of radio speaking to-day is of incalculable importance, and merits the closest study in all the particulars of its specialized technique.

DEBATING

By ARTHUR W. RILEY

Instructor in Debating in Columbia University

If everyone is not a born debater, everyone is born to debate. From the cradle to matrimony one debates, and debates thereafter. Eventually through controversy we hope to reach a common decision, since only through agreement is accomplishment possible. The house must be stucco or brick; the baby's name Mary or Jane. Two men may not be president; two policies may not govern the same business. Everywhere the wrong idea or the inferior method must be exposed. We debate. We seek through contention to discover the wisest course. The janitors argue and the directors argue. Everyone debates.

The field of human endeavor is filled with controversial questions: Why should I hire you? Why is your product worth buying? Why is your client innocent? Why should we accept your advertising scheme? Why should we pass this bill which you propose? Why should I come to church? Every question anticipates a debate. In business we are not in the habit of saying, "I must go down now to have a debate with Mr. Baker about the purchase of some bonds"; or in the ministry, "I must debate with any imps or devils that are tempting my congregation." But in all probability we shall debate with Mr. Baker, and in all probability we shall debate with the devils. Continually we are striving to induce others to think or act according to our desire. No one, therefore, who is interested in convincing others can ignore the need of knowing the essence of argumentation.

While our purpose here is to consider the methods of debating from the view of public speaking, we may at the same time remember that many of the things which apply on the

platform apply also to a private discussion. Surely to speak soundly one must know what he is talking about; to speak clearly he must have method and organization; and to speak at all he must have an audience—one person or many—who will have very decided reactions to his method of presentation. To know how to debate, then, is valuable even though we make few formal addresses, and even though we seldom take part in a formal debate.

The Essence of Argument

This is the primary idea which all speakers must understand: The essence of a good argumentative speech is thought conveyed through emotion. Some persons would attend a lecture entitled "The Principles of Astronomy." Many more would attend a lecture called "The Romance of the Stars." We are responsive to thought when our emotions are touched. Two men spoke at an election rally. The state treasurer droned out a gigantic list of bonds, taxes, and statistical excerpts to show that the state had reduced the cost of operation. The speaker droned. Nobody listened. Then came the spellbinder of the evening. He proved that Columbus discovered America; that Washington was the father of his country; and that the American people were the greatest on God's earth. The audience cheered and went home. The next day they had forgotten the state treasurer and the flag-waving orator. The experience of the state treasurer illustrates that no amount of proof has any value if the audience does not listen. A speech that bores the audience is a failure. On the other hand, the spellbinder who arouses his audience to a receptive mood, and thereafter presents no proof of his contentions, can make no lasting impression. The essence of a good argumentative speech, we observe, is thought conveyed through emotion.

At the outset, then, we realize that the debater has two major fields of preparation. He must know that while nothing is more alluring than a study of audiences, nothing is more necessary than a thorough investigation of the subject. Moreover, to the great debater the building of the argument is an enticing task, since he has learned that real, invigorating joy

comes to one who has built a solid case. Such a man gathers his material, organizes it into strong proof, stays out of the court room or assembly until he is ready. Because he is experienced, he prepares.

How to Prepare for Debate

If we say, in approaching the problem of preparation, that no one should have an opinion not based on knowledge, practically everyone will agree, though practically everyone has opinions based on no knowledge at all. A young lady was asked, "Which do you think is better morally—literature of to-day or literature of twenty-five years ago?" "Why, literature of to-day!" "What books written twenty-five years ago have you read?" After some hesitation the reply came, "Not any." From this general class of hasty opinionists, typified by the young lady, the debater must remove himself. His eyes must forsake the newspaper headlines, too frequently the sole giver of information, and thereafter turn to the library and to all valuable sources of knowledge.

In planning a preparation of the argument, we must understand that three things are to be done: We must find material, read it, and remember what we have read. The last-mentioned part of our work we consider first—memory. Perhaps we shall read all afternoon, perhaps a year. We may expect to find ideas so important that we feel we shall never forget them. Still, the experience of most persons is that after a long period of study the mind is filled with elusive glimmerings. We read all afternoon and know nothing at all. Quite obviously we must make written records of what we read, must hold a book in one hand, a pen in the other. For the purpose of these records, we may use a notebook, or better by far a number of cards of envelope size. Points written on cards may later be grouped under main headings without the trouble of recopying.

Collecting Material

Now we begin our search for material. The library offers

many keys. In the first place, all the books are listed in the files, once under the author's name and sometimes under the titles. Moreover, in a good library system books are listed under general titles, such as Marketing, Oratory, Geology, Law. The key to magazines is found in Poole's "Index to Periodical Literature," and in the "Reader's Guide." Often we may find a work compiled for some specialized field such as Webb's "Dictionary of Statistics," the "Statesman's Year Book," or the "Index to Legal Periodicals." When the New York *Times* is kept in bound volumes, an index is available. Moreover, many books have the keys within them, such as the encyclopedias, the debaters' hand books, or the current almanacs. We must be on the watch always for the bibliographies, reference lists appended to books or articles, or published sometimes separately in one volume. Finally, we may feel assured in knowing that a most valuable key is the librarian, who can always give aid.

Now that we have our keys, we are ready. An attorney produces his witnesses, makes his arguments, and cites precedents and opinions of jurists. Similarly, we gather the evidence, note the arguments used, and find authority. At first we try to understand the problem generally; we consult the encyclopedia or a textbook or some explanatory article. Thus we come to know the background of the question, sense the points of dispute, and get our bearings for our future reading. We are on the way. Returning to our keys we make a list of references. We are interested in all sides of the controversy, since our own arguments are tested by our opponent and since we must refute the points which he advances. Attention now is given to articles which bear directly on the dispute. Each piece of evidence and each piece of argument must be recorded on a separate card. If the author is a significant person, an expert, we may make a record of his opinion. We must be watchful for good illustrations, interesting handling of figures, or effective sentences, all of which will be valuable later on. All in all we must feel that we have covered all the points, that we know the case. We must feel that, should we express an opinion on literature, we know the books written twenty-five years ago; or that, should we make a political speech, we may

go beyond establishing that Washington was the father of his country.

Analyzing the Material

We proceed now to analyze the material. In a famous poem by Robert Southey, called *"After Blenheim,"* two children are anxious to learn the cause of the battle. But the old grandfather, though he knew all the details of the conflict, could not very well explain what it was all about. We frequently hear debaters who seem in a similar state of mind. All the details may be given, all the evidence and arguments piled up; yet the central ideas, the points of controversy, the issues, are obscure. Hence, our next step, now that we have gathered material, is to discover what issues are to determine the clash of debate. Let us by no means mistake for issues the main points in the argument of either side. The points of controversy belong to neither side, are not created by the debaters. They exist alone and apart from the argument. If an accused person seeks to establish an alibi, the issue is: "Was he there?" If he succeeds in proving that he was not, all additional evidence against him is worthless. There is no other issue.

Primarily, then, we must study our material to discover what vital points are at stake, what the essence of the controversy is. We have accumulated several pieces of argument and evidence, all of which must be grouped under specified headings. One method is simple. We may sort our cards, putting into one pile all those relating to a common point. We group, for example, ten cards on the history of the question. The main headings thus found, we seek the issues. Possibly already our reading has suggested them; likely some writer has stated what they are. Whatever is admitted by both sides, or whatever though disputed is not sufficiently vital to determine the verdict, is not an issue. In discussing the wisdom of a constitutional amendment, both sides may agree on the history of the question; both may agree that a problem exists, both sides may disagree on minor points; but until the opponent denies that the amendment can solve the problem, or until he claims that worse difficulties will arise from its passage, not until then

has any vital clash or issue arisen. Therefore, in our own particular problem, we must discover immediately what is at stake, on what issues our case shall stand or fall. Careful thought will reveal them. Using the discovered issues as the basis of the entire argument, the wise debater will make an outline or a brief of all the case.

Preparing for the Audience

We turn immediately to the second field of preparation, a consideration of delivery to an audience. We are to make a speech to a group of people; we are to convey to them the thought which we have amassed. Not unlike the playwright's is our problem now, for we are to plan a structure for our ideas and later give this structure to the actors or to ourselves for presentation to the audience. Let us not confuse a speech with an essay which appears in a book and which we read at home. Much more is it like the drama, planned to be spoken, planned to move toward a climax, planned to convey thought by emotional appeal. Our problem henceforward, then, is to prepare our material for presentation. On the issues, we are to plead before an audience. We may by no means advance from this point in our consideration of public speaking until we are totally aware of our problem. One may not rush from the library to the platform. Some pause is necessary, though the speaker's experience will determine its extent. When we feel that our argument is strong, we give entire attention to its presentation. We have mentioned heretofore a political spellbinder who had nothing to say; we mentioned also a state treasurer who, though he had something to say, approached the platform without consideration of the problem of delivery. Preparation for the audience is primarily a problem of foresight, a problem of anticipation. All the evidence we have gathered will be valuable only to the extent we can employ it in convincing and persuading the audience. We are ready, then, to organize our speech.

A first principle is unity. The speech must keep to the main road and the clear road. Only the evidence and only the arguments which contribute to our purpose may be employed. If

we should see advertised in the newspaper: Mr. Jones will speak on the causes of the Revolution and the manufacture of Colonial furniture, we should be surprised. Frequently the speaker is tempted to use nonapplicable material simply because he has taken a fancy to it, or because he really has no central purpose, no objective. Primarily, the speaker must know what his purpose is, and must thereupon eliminate every particle of material that fails to contribute to that purpose. In the argumentative speech unity will be maintained by a strict adherence to the issues.

With the foregoing principle to keep us from going astray, we plan the most effective method of presenting our argument. On reflection, we decide that the audience must be made ready to receive our case; therefore, we plan an introduction. Secondly, we must present our argument—we call this the main part, the body, or the discussion. Last, we must sum up, drive home our arguments, close the case—this is the conclusion or the peroration. Simple though this division appears, we continually hear speakers who have no head or tail to their presentations. We shall treat the parts in a general way and give immediately afterward the things which may be considered in each of the three.

The Introduction

The curtain rises in the theater. If no scenery is used, we yet must wait for an inkling of the story. But if the curtain rises to disclose a palatial room, or a business office, or a dirty cellar, we are already started in the story. We listen carefully to what the first actors say, because we know they are setting the groundwork of the play. Here, then, is a dramatic introduction, its value dependent upon the skill of the playwright. Here, at least in point of purpose, is very nearly an oratorical introduction, its value dependent upon the skill of the speaker. Quite frequently the building of the groundwork determines the success of the entire speech.

Two things must be done in the introduction: The audience must first be made willing to believe and then able to understand the arguments that follow. Most audiences will give

attention at the beginning, at least from curiosity. The pill-seller on the corner attracts the inquisitive. But primary attention is often like the hermit's in Anatole France's "Thaïs," "I long to know your arguments, that I may refute them." Original attention must be guided by the skill of the speaker into a willingness to believe. Though an audience would not be complimented by this remark, we might say that a speaker who gives his best argument to a hostile or indifferent audience is casting his pearls before swine; and we might venture to say in continuation that nothing will move a pig-headed gathering. The speaker's skill must change their attitude. Sometimes the most brilliant audience will not be inclined in the speaker's favor. Before the far-famed audience of college professors, one would have some difficulties to overcome, were his pleas for the abolition of compulsory education. At times a speaker faces an audience well disposed, already willing to believe, and therefore he has no opening problem. But the speaker who anticipates a problem should consider the suggestions given hereafter.

To make the audience able to understand (the second purpose of the introduction) requires that we recall our own situation when first we entered the library. "At first," we said, "we try to understand the problem generally. Thus we came to know the background of the question, sense the points in dispute, and get our bearings." We must give the audience, similarly, sufficient information for following our main arguments. This information may include a history of the question, the reason for the present discussion, an explanation of unfamiliar terms; usually it should include a statement of the issues and of the main points on which the speaker bases his contention. But common sense always must govern this explanatory part of the speech, also the speaker may find himself insulting the intelligence of his listeners by saying what they already know. We must tell what is needed, no more.

The Body of the Argument

This favorable attention we must now repay with a sound body of proof. Reliable evidence, sensible reasoning, and an

effective uniting of them into a strong organization will impress the audience. The slack debater frequently points out great assertions, supporting them with no evidence whatever. Sometimes he attempts a proof by one example when he needs twenty; he is careless about the reliability of his sources. He fails to perceive that testimony may be prejudiced; that it may be inaccurate; that it may be false. Such a debater often forgets that the audience, not sharing the speaker's intensity of feeling, will require vastly more proof than he is prepared to give. As objectionable as producing bad evidence is a citation of another's opinion, when the author is unqualified to speak as an authority. Finally, all the evidence and authorities available are valueless if the debater, by bad reasoning, draws erroneous conclusions. The good debater, of course, will guard against the negligences here observed.

Unity, which we have mentioned as a first principle, is nowhere so necessary as in this body of the proof. Not only should unity be maintained, but it must be apparent. A clear connection of all our arguments, therefore, is needed so that the audience may see that each point aims at the central purpose. If, for example, we cite statistics or produce the opinion of an expert, the reason for so doing must be made clear. Frequently, debaters are told that the aim of this main part of the speech is to drive huge posts into solid ground (nothing but the issues should determine what these posts are), and that each piece of evidence should serve as a blow to give the post a firmer hold. If each point were used as a separate little peg, its value would be insignificant. The unity of the body will be additionally effective if the strongest argument is placed in the most advantageous position. If we begin weakly, then show some strength, and thereafter peter out, our proof will not be likely to succeed. Usually our strongest argument should come last; our next strongest should appear at the beginning. A unified organization, in which the purpose of each point is clear and in which the important arguments are emphasized, will assure a forceful presentation.

The strength of our own proof will be increased whenever we are able to attack successfully the contentions of the opponent. The audience, which we may forget at no time, ordinarily

expects a satisfactory destruction of conflicting arguments, especially when the opponent is speaking from the same platform. At this point comes the test of our preparation of material; we must have anticipated whatever is presented against us. Throughout the course of our proof, therefore, we must pause to destroy whatever tends to interfere with the acceptance of our proposal. Sometimes our constructive argument by its own force weakens a contention of the opposition; but frequently we are compelled to devote a direct attack to some opposing evidence. Whatever the occasion or the method of rebuttal, we must show just what post of the opponent's we are aiming to overthrow, and must make apparent in just what way our pressure is effective.

The Summary and Final Appeal

The time comes to summarize, and to make a final appeal, and to stop. A proper summary is vastly more than a methodical inventory of the main arguments. It should be a rapid, strong uniting, a clear, instant picture of the entire case. The accumulated strength of all our arguments must be merged into a final unity, instantly apparent to the audience. Most effective was Lincoln's summary at Gettysburg, "—that this government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth." So important is this final marshaling of arguments that beforehand we should plan it carefully. We proceed then with the final appeal. The unified argument may be the basis of this last endeavor. An evangelist, preaching a fiery warning about the uncertainty of the hour of death, ended abruptly with "Are you ready?" The speaker, in this instance, did what usually one must do: drive home the argument by an emotional appeal. No regular procedure, of course, can be suggested for all speeches, the feelings touched in any instance being those responsive. In the ordinary speech for the ordinary occasion, especially if the audience is small, the speaker should not attempt a too strenuous ending, else it will sound forced and superfluous. A simple, kindly last appeal has its place, just as the magnificent peroration of Webster's in his "Reply to Hayne" was there appropriate. In regard to the entire con-

clusion, we must know that to be successful the speech must end with all the principal arguments effectively organized, and with the audience believing what has been submitted.

Addressing an Audience

Undertaking now a general consideration of audiences, we give our attention first to style of language. The argumentative speech must be forceful and clear, since to these qualities an audience will respond. If we irritate our listeners by compelling them to think continually, "What did he say that for?" or "Just what is he driving at?" we are likely to lose their attention. We must not convey a hodgepodge of points, but a clearly connected train of argument moving toward our one objective. While clearness makes possible attention, force maintains it. Therefore the speech, to be effective, must have illustration, concreteness, conciseness, comparison, climax. Consider the words of Othello before he stabs himself:

> And say besides, that in Aleppo once,
> When a malignant and a turban'd Turk
> Beat a Venetian and traduced the state,
> I took by the throat the circumcisèd dog
> And smote him—thus!

A study of the elements of good writing is invaluable to the debater.

Before we try to sell Mr. Baker some bonds, we should know Mr. Baker; before we speak before any audience, we should know the audience. Mr. Baker is not Mr. Smith; the American Bankers' Association is not the Socialist Party. We must anticipate that our audience will surely bring all their human nature—likes, dislikes, prejudices, party and religious leanings, hopes, fears, hates. Any one characteristic may be uppermost, but all will come. Though an audience is frequently so mixed that it has no unified attitude, we may find that it is either hostile, friendly, or neutral toward the speaker or toward his cause. In addition, we may discover that the audience is concerned primarily with one part of a question—a meeting of business men in the financial side, a meeting of ministers in

the moral side. A careful study of our audience will reveal what should be avoided and what should be emphasized.

What Reaches the Hearts of an Audience

What reaches the hearts of an audience? First, find out what they are proud of. A group of people bitterly opposed to our ideas will listen if we plead for fairness, if it is too proud to be unfair. Pride of country, pride of race, pride of religion, pride of party, pride of learning—all are foundations of appeal. The audience of mothers favors the building of the church gymnasium when told that their sons will be of the best manhood of the land. The city aldermen consider a new street lighting proposal if other cities are shown to have better illumination. The owner of a comparatively shabby automobile is induced to buy a new one. The desire of people to excel or at least to equal, or the desire to be good or great, is a basis of strong appeal.

What is the audience afraid of? A plea for a stronger fire department, for better police protection, for a suitable army and navy may appeal to a sense of common danger. Threatened hell-fire has made the crooked straight. Parents are aroused by the menace of vice. Loss of honor, championship, money, prestige, love are objects of fear. A plan for safety, therefore, may be based on a strong emotional appeal.

What does the audience love or hate? Here, as in our other questions, we might give an endless list. A church congregation sings, "Oh, let me from this day be wholly Thine," and thereby expresses an ideal; it sings, "Faith of our fathers, holy faith, we will be true to thee till death," and respects its traditions; it sings, "We are not divided, all one body we," and glorifies unity. Each hymn is an expression of the heart, of what the heart loves. The public speaker is fortunate when he can show the consistency of his plea with an accepted ideal. An audience may not be worried by a denunciation of corrupt journalism until the menace to democracy is disclosed. Let the audience learn that what they love is in danger, or what they love will be benefited, and they will listen. The audience also hates. Enemies, impostors, deserters, wrongs, forces of

evil are common foes. The reform organization collapses when the cause is won, since the enemy is no more. The docile nation may become warlike if its citizens are wronged abroad. The audience will hate or dislike whatever opposes the objects of its love.

Personality of the Debater

What we have said here should suggest that although to gather material, find the issues, and organize the arguments are of importance, the study of the audience is absolutely necessary. The speaker, therefore, must be a person in contact with life, must know the ways of people. The response of gatherings at the moving-pictures, at the opera, at the drama—any group, anywhere—will give him material for study.

Finally, we consider the audience's reaction to the speaker himself. Fatal to the debater is an audience's dislike for him. The sour man, the tactless man, the unkindly man does not belong on the platform. No last minute attempt may be relied upon to change a speaker's personality for a temporal period. Whatever a man is in daily life he is likely to be on the platform. Although exceptions will be met with, an audience admires courtesy, fairness, and self-control; it likes modesty and a sense of humor; it respects honest sincerity. A sympathetic man, though he uses no tricks, will reach more hearts than the accomplished shyster.

An otherwise likable man, however, may have so many faults in his method of presentation that even a willing audience cannot give attention. The man who roars so that he makes one constant bellow, the man who speaks so low that the ears of the listeners are strained, or the man who enunciates so sluggishly that no one can understand, probably will not hold his audience. Equally objectionable are a sloppy carriage of the body and the forced use of artificial gestures. Furthermore, the man who becomes pompously oratorical or unfeelingly conversational is not likely to receive a satisfactory response. So that he may eliminate undesirable characteristics, the speaker must learn to criticize himself and to seek the comments of those fitted to advise him.

The Audience on the Radio

In our consideration of presentation to an audience, we must give attention to the vast number of persons who may listen over the radio. Here exists an entirely distinct problem. A gathering in an auditorium or on a street corner are in direct contact with the speaker, respond with a mass feeling to his appeals, watch his gestures and his facial expressions, give encouragement by their favorable reception, laugh together at his humor, are won by his favorable appearance or by his personality. The radio listener sits at home. Between him and the speaker the voice is the only contact. Uninfluenced by the spirit of a meeting, the man in his armchair may give deliberate consideration to the arguments advanced. He dislikes being annoyed by careless enunciation; he may detect easily an attempt to thwart his judgment by giving him sentiment instead of fact. The contact between the radio speaker and his listeners has much of the aspect of a private conversation. We must observe, however, that when a broadcast speech is delivered before a visible audience, their laughter and applause are likely to make the radio listener feel that he is part of the meeting. In any event, we must remember that the radio listener is susceptible to whatever favorable characteristics are present in the speaker's voice, and that he, like all men, has opinions, prejudices, likes, and dislikes.

We have now considered the debater's two major fields of preparation: the building of the argument, and the planning of its presentation to an audience. Whether the speaker advocates a certain policy for a business, campaigns for the election of a candidate, or urges a jury to find for his client, his success will depend on the soundness of his case and on his ability to present his arguments effectively. If we say, therefore, that a good argumentative speech is thought conveyed through emotion, we know at this point precisely what we mean.

Conducting a Formal Debate

A formal debate is a contest in which the representatives of each side of a question, speaking for an equal time on the same

platform, attempt to establish their own arguments and refute those of the opponent. When we say that everyone debates, therefore, we mean no such definite arrangement. But surely enough, when two contractors are competing for the same job, or when two political opponents are speaking in different cities, a debate is taking place. No matter what the occasion or what the circumstances, what we have said about the argumentative speech applies. The formal debate, however, because of its immediate clash of opinion, needs some special consideration.

In arranging a formal debate, we decide first on a clear, definite proposition, so unified in meaning that only one subject will be discussed, and so stated that the affirmative has the burden of proof. No contest may take place if we say simply, "American Prohibition," or "The World Court." Such mere titles permit neither an affirmative nor a negative stand. A statement must be contained in the resolution. But even if we say: "This meeting does not approve of England and France," though we do have a statement, we get nowhere in discussion, since the wording of the proposition is vague, and since the naming of two countries will most likely offer two subjects of discussion. In the proposition: *"Resolved:* That the United States should abandon the Monroe Doctrine," the wording makes a solid basis of argument. Speakers in a debating club should select propositions which are interesting to the members, and should take sides when possible according to their convictions.

We decide next on the method of conducting the contest. Any number of speakers may appear on the sides, although usually the number is one, two, or three. The time is divided equally between the opponents. The debate may be so conducted that each debater speaks only once, the affirmative beginning and the negative ending; or so conducted that each debater makes two speeches, the first (called the main) in the order of affirmative, negative; and the second (called the rebuttal) in the order of negative, affirmative. Any variation may be agreed upon. Frequently, when only main speeches are given, the affirmative is permitted to use a small portion of its time at the end, this being the only rebuttal speech in the debate. Sometimes one debater from each side delivers a

rebuttal speech; in such a case the affirmative speaks last.

The contest is conducted by the chairman, who states the proposition and the method of debate, introduces each speaker, and, when a decision is wanted, finally takes the vote. This decision may be given by judges or by the entire audience. Judges are selected who are thought to be impartial and who have knowledge of what good debating is. Their decision should be based entirely on the skill of the debaters. An audience may be asked to decide which side showed superior skill, or which side made the more favorable general impression. In still another method, an audience may vote on the merits of the question, that is, may vote for one side or the other regardless of the abilities of the debaters. This last method is really a show of opinion and is not a decision on the particular debate. The difficulty of obtaining proper decisions in contests becomes apparent when we realize that debating is an art. As trained critics disagree over the literary value of a novel or as the mass of readers express like or dislike, so disagreement often arises over who won a debate. Frequently, therefore, no proper verdict is possible. An affirmative team may convince ten persons for a lifetime; a negative team may convince ninety for a day. The best we can do, in any event, is to attempt the finding of an impartial verdict. Precaution must be shown in the choice of judges. Moreover, a vote of the audience may be taken before the debate, so that we may determine at the end which side changed the greater amount of votes. Judges should be employed when the audience is known to be hopelessly unfair. On all occasions, a vote of both judges and audience is desirable.

Rebuttal

The essence of the formal debate is the immediate clash of opinion, the immediate reply of one side to the other. Thus the debater, in addition to establishing his own argument, must offset in the minds of his audience whatever persuading has been accomplished by the opponent. Always the issues at stake must be held firmly in mind, else a clever opponent may successfully misstate them, or lead us off to waste time on an

insignificant point. Immediately on taking the platform after an opponent's speech, we must show, in case he has missed the issues, that his speech is of no value. But if his speech has met the issues squarely, we should have examined the evidence and the reasoning that he employed, and must know just in what manner we shall attempt a refutation. If the opponent has been so effective as to have the audience inclined in his favor, we should be unwise to advance in our constructive case, but should attack his argument at once. We should select from the opponent's case a strong point (or better, if possible, find the one point of his entire speech) that we can successfully attack. Poor debaters select for this purpose some trivial point, the refutation of which does not influence an audience; or such debaters repeat a strong point of the opponent and thereupon give a flimsy rebuttal that by its weakness really strengthens the point attacked. When, in a debate, an entire speech is allotted for refutation, we examine the opponent's case to discover whether the evidence is false or insufficient, whether the processes of argument are logical, and whether the conclusions are justified. This examination, however, is at times effectively made in the main speeches, and must be made there in the absence of rebuttal speeches.

If two or more debaters appear for each side, the material must be so divided that each speaker has a definite part of the case. Unfortunate is the team that does not work in unity. Not only must each speaker stick to his own points, but must realize his speech is only part of the case, and that he, therefore, must at least in summary, review all the arguments thus far presented by his side. The division of the case into speeches is determined by the nature of the controversy. But the history of the question, the explanation of unfamiliar terms, and the statement of the issues will appear in the first speech of the affirmative, which, however, is subject to the criticism of the first negative. The final speakers present at the close a quick restatement of all the contentions on their side. Let us remember that during the debate the audience is there, disliking ill temper and quibbling trickery.

And now we reach the conclusion of our discussion. We

have studied one of the greatest arts. As one reads the speeches recorded within these many volumes, he may see the nobility and feel the power of the argumentative speech. But no person need wish for the momentous occasion to give him opportunity for sound and effective argument. Everywhere good thinking is in demand, and everywhere good thinking may inspire appropriate action if only it is conveyed persuasively. A brain, a voice, and a heart will make a convincing speaker.

A DEBATE CLUB

By ARTHUR W. RILEY

Unless a man at some time has been the member of a debate club, he cannot know what fascinating experience discussion meetings offer. In such a gathering a member may come to understand different points of view, and may get invaluable opportunity of expressing his own ideas. To organize a club is easy, since nearly everywhere men and women are eager to take part in a worth-while meeting. Members of the same church, of the same school, factory, neighborhood, office, profession, trade, party, or a combination of any of these, may form a discussion group. One enthusiastic person frequently is able to organize a society.

Before very much progress is possible in maintaining a debating club, a spirit of common kindness must be made to exist. One member may be boisterous; another timid; another easily offended. The dominating idea should be, that the real purpose of the society is the development of whatever is good in the speaking ability of each member, and a suppression of what is unfavorable. Kindly criticism, not satire, will tame the loud and encourage the meek. Members of a club must guard against any spirit that will dampen the desire for discussion.

No complicated set of parliamentary rules is needed for a small group of persons, although a knowledge of the major principles of procedure is valuable. When a group becomes so large that ordinary conversation is maintained only with difficulty, the group will be wise in selecting a discussion leader or chairman. Indeed, a leader is desirable in any event, since tactful guidance will bring about most accomplishment. But the strict rules of parliamentary practice are out of place where men are most interested in discussion, and when zealousness for strict form may result in tomfoolery. Of course,

a club may hold meetings principally for the purpose of learning parliamentary law, in which careful observance may be exercised. For the ordinary meetings the members should decide on some simple rules of practice, best suited to their own ambitions.

The club will do well to elect a permanent leader, although at the meetings every member should be permitted at some time to guide the discussion. The planning of the meetings may be left to a program committee, who may appoint the temporary chairman, find appropriate topics for consideration, or invite persons, club members or not, to give special talks. This program committee may act also as a social or entertainment committee.

Several types of discussion may be introduced into the various meetings. We give here some suggestions.

Formal Debates. The committee well in advance should select the propositions and the teams. Chances of a real clash will be increased if the teams before the contest submit briefs to each other. A critic may be appointed who shall at the end comment on the ability of each debater.

Informal Debates. A resolution may be adopted on which every member of the club shall speak. If experience indicates that informal debates move too slowly, floor leaders for each side may be appointed who shall direct the speaking order of their followers. In holding informal debates, the club may imagine itself to be the state or federal senate, and may even discuss those problems which the real assemblies are then debating. Sometimes the differing factions sit opposite each other so that a member who changes his mind during the discussion may walk over to the other side. The neutrals or independents may join either side at will during the debate.

Mock Trials. These trials may be made highly amusing if the members of the club have imagination and a sense of humor. Of course, unless the society is composed of lawyers or law students, strict adherence to court procedure is impossible. The general method of the trial court, however, can be employed. The participants may be judge, jurors, lawyers, and witnesses. A good plan is to select an interesting case already tried, or about to be tried, in the courts, which

may be reproduced in the club. Still another method is to act out beforehand a series of incidents which will establish grounds for an action in mock trial. In such cases the witnesses are not expected to use their imaginations but to tell only what actually happened. For the routine of the trial this procedure may be used: The plaintiff (or prosecution) presents to the defendant a statement setting forth the cause of action. The defendant thereupon returns a statement containing his reply. For lay purposes, these two statements are usually enough, although in actual proceeding a great many may pass from one side to the other. Of course, this pleading takes place before the day of trial. Now the court convenes to try the case. A jury is chosen; the plaintiff's attorney makes an opening speech to set forth his contentions; the defendant's attorney replies; the plaintiff produces his witnesses; the defendant produces his; the defendant makes a final speech, or summation; the plaintiff does the same; the court charges the jury; the jury reaches its verdict. We need not consider the many customary motions made during an actual case. The judge, however, will decide what evidence is to the point, in case of any objections, and will likewise prevent an attorney from "leading" (hinting in the question what the reply should be) his own witness. The time consumed in a mock trial should be divided evenly between sides.

Pleading Before a Higher Court. This form of meeting resembles the debates of attorneys before courts of appeal. Great interest may be aroused in cases involving the constitutionality of proposed legislation or of lower court decisions. Famous cases, such as the Dred Scott or the child labor controversies before the United States Supreme Court, may be reargued. Such debating is valuable in that the purpose is to convince an expert judge and not a jury. Not so many members can participate in this kind of court procedure, although more than one attorney may speak for either side. The lawyer making the appeal speaks first, and attempts to have the decision of the lower court reversed; his opponent argues that the lower court's judgment should be affirmed.

Round Table Discussions. Frequently the program committee may announce a subject to be discussed not necessarily

by argument. The members seated around a table may, for example, attempt to discover causes of a current crime prevalency and to suggest remedies. Or they may discuss a book, old or new; all of an author's works; the editorials of a certain newspaper; American journalism generally; evolution; forms of government; marriage; ideals—anything in which a group is interested. In such meetings the members are not to be held to strict account for every thought or suggestion offered. In effect, the group will think as a unit, taking for consideration the worth-while ideas that come into the unit mind. The group, instead of the individual, "thinks something over."

Statement of Opinions. Of great value to the members will be meetings devoted to statements of opinion. The method is this: each person is asked to bring a briefly written statement of an opinion that he feels thoroughly justified in holding. When such an opinion is read in the meeting, the members question the giver in an effort to determine whether or not he is justified in reaching his conclusion. The question must not by any means be argumentative—that is, the questions must not seek to debate. The purpose of the questions, it must be understood, is to discover whether the opinion is given on the basis of sound thought and reliable evidence, or on no good basis at all. This opinion might be given: "Mr. Jones should be sent to England as ambassador." Questions: "What are the duties of the ambassador?" "How is Mr. Jones fitted for such duties?" "Have you considered any other persons?" The questioner must insist on definite, complete replies. If the meeting discovers that the opinion is based on no knowledge of an ambassador's duties, it has demonstrated a weakness in judgment, or at least has done so until the giver of the opinion can show good cause for deciding without such knowledge. No other member is to offer aid in the answering of questions. The purpose of such consideration of opinion, obviously, is to discourage shallow thinking.

Two Members Before the Club. In this form of activity two persons sit or stand facing each other before the club. One of them states an opinion; the other (the questioner) seeks to attack it either by debate or by attempting to show in-

sufficient consideration. This method should produce a lively conversation and sometimes a brilliant one. It resembles a game of chess played before onlookers. The participants, as a result of these engagements, become accustomed to the presence of listeners and develop resourcefulness in quick reply. If this activity is employed, every member may take part in his turn. The questioner of the previous pair remains to state the opinion, and the new member enters as questioner.

Parliamentary Law. Some meetings may be governed by strict observance of the rules of order. The club may be divided into a majority group and a minority group at which occasion the majority will attempt to have some resolution passed. Beforehand the members should study some manual, such as Robert's "Rules of Order." During the debate the speakers should seek to employ as many rules as possible, but this suggestion is given so that the members may gain knowledge of procedure, and not by any means so that all these cumbersome rules will be resorted to at every meeting. The members should take turns as chairman.

Sales Talks. Even if no member of the club is engaged in business, a successful meeting may be devoted to sales talks. Each speaker should pick out something to sell—a toothbrush, a house, a brand of soap, or an automobile. Such aids as diagrams, samples, or pictures may be used. Brief debates between the representatives of two business firms may be staged, or each speaker may sell without competition.

Imitation Meetings. A splendid type of meeting—one, however, that requires imagination—is that in which the club assumes itself to be a political gathering, a church convention, a labor union meeting, an association of parents, or what not. By this assumption, the members may come face to face with the problem of fitting the speech to a particular audience. A difficult problem should be arranged—one, for example, in which a speaker in a labor meeting wishes to denounce the right to strike. The club members should, of course, attempt to imitate the attitude of the supposed audience. Different problems should be arranged for different members, since obviously it is difficult to be one minute a member of a hostile audience, and the next minute, when the turn to speak arrives, endeavor

to change one's entire attitude. The club, at the conclusion of the speeches, may discuss their merits.

Humorous Meetings. An evening cannot be wasted if the speakers do no more than to tell funny stories, since practice in story-telling is beneficial to the debater. However, the program may be so arranged that each speaker, by an appeal to the sense of humor, is to arouse interest in some dull subject. The purpose of the speech shall not be to discuss the subject, but merely to bring the audience to the point of favorable attention.

Written Speeches. When the members of the club feel that they have developed ability to criticize the composition of speeches, each member may bring to the meeting a speech which he has carefully worked out. Using the suggestions for speech composition found in the main part of this article, the members will attempt to discover, for instance, whether the speech is unified, or whether it has an adequate introduction. Good characteristics may be pointed out and suggestions given for improvement. All the members may write a speech on the same subject, and thereafter make comparisons; or they may write only an introduction of a speech planned for a special audience, and thereafter compare the methods of approach.

Study of Speeches. The club may hold a Lincoln night, a Webster night, or a World War night, when the purpose shall be to study the merits of the many speeches. The readers shall attempt to discover what qualities are outstanding in any one speech, or in all the speeches of one man. Careful observation of the methods employed by successful orators surely will aid in the development of a speaker's power.

Critical Meetings. Heart-to-heart talks about the speaking abilities and shortcomings of each member are so valuable that an entire meeting should be devoted to them. These meetings, of course, are possible only after the members have had opportunity of judging the general work of each speaker. Everyone should be told frankly by each member just what impression he has made as a debater. If these criticisms are given kindly, each speaker will profit by a true knowledge of what he must develop and what he must overcome.

We have given here suggestions that nearly all debating clubs may follow. Each club, however, will soon develop ideas for its own guidance. By the choice of an active leader and a sensible program committee any society can be assured of time well spent, and of time spent with pleasure.

THE FOLLOWING ARE SUITABLE RESOLUTIONS FOR DEBATE

1. The jury system should be abolished.
2. Voting in the United States should be compulsory.
3. Capital punishment should be abolished.
4. Labor in the essential industries has a right to strike.
5. War should be declared only by popular vote.
6. Membership in the League of Nations is to the best interest of the United States.
7. Germany was responsible for the World War.
8. State censorship of motion-pictures is desirable.
9. The Federal Government should own and operate the railroads.
10. All persons over sixty should receive pensions from the Federal Government.

HOLDING A MEETING

A MEETING of any sort in order to discuss questions or to transact business must be properly organized and conducted according to the accepted rules of order or of parliamentary law. For organization a chairman and a secretary are essential. The chairman's principal duties are: to open the meeting by taking the chair and calling to order the persons assembled; to state the business before the meeting; to recognize persons wishing to speak, deciding who has the floor; to state and to put to vote questions which are regularly moved; and to decide whether the motion is carried or defeated. The principal duties of the secretary are to read the minutes of the preceding meeting and to keep a record of the motions made and business transacted.

The ordinary course of business is managed by means of motions and resolutions. General talk on a subject must not be allowed by the chairman. He must ask for a motion, a definite proposition. When this is made (and seconded) the chairman restates it, and it is then before the meeting for discussion, amendment, postponement, or vote. The proper forms of order and priority of motions have been determined by the general practice of parliamentary bodies, such as the Congress of the United States, and are set forth for the guidance of meetings and associations of all sorts in such manuals as Robert's "Rules of Order." This manual should be studied by anyone who has much to do with presiding or participating in meetings. But an extensive or detailed knowledge of parliamentary law is of little practical service in the ordinary meetings of business or neighborhood or other organizations. A few of the principles are sufficient.

Debate. All ordinary motions are debatable, but certain motions of parliamentary procedure intended to bring things to

a conclusion are, by rule, not debatable, e. g., a motion to adjourn, a motion to lay on the table, a motion for the previous question, a motion to take a resolution from the table or to take it up out of its proper order. All these motions have the effect of closing the debate on the main question.

Amendment. All ordinary motions can be amended, but the amendment must be pertinent. An amendment to an amendment may be moved, but this cannot further be amended. Neither can a motion to lay on the table, or for the previous question, or to reconsider, or to take from the table, be amended. When an amendment has been carried by vote, the original motion as amended is then before the house for debate and vote.

In *electing officers, appointing committees, accepting and adopting reports of committees,* certain forms of procedure are customary. In an organized society there is usually a method provided for electing officers, e.g., by ballot. Often permanent committees are named in the bylaws. Committees for special purposes may be designated at any time upon a motion being carried to that effect. Unless otherwise provided in the motion these members are appointed by the chair. The report of a committee is presented by its chairman. If this report contains no resolutions, it is not necessary for the meeting to take action upon it. The proper motion is that the report be *accepted.* Or the presiding officer may simply say: "If there are no objections, the report is accepted." If, however, the report contains resolutions or recommendations (which should come at the end of the report), the chairman of the committee on concluding should hand a copy of the resolutions to the secretary and should say: "Mr. Chairman, I move the adoption of this report (or resolution, or recommendation)." The report is then before the house for debate and action.

Unanimous Consent. Much business is transacted in any assembly by unanimous consent. Even a motion to adjourn might be reconsidered, or any kind of an amendment might be added—if *no one objects.* Especially in small and friendly

meetings the presiding officer can facilitate matters by proposing thus or so, if there is no objection.

Address the Chair and Speak to the Motion. These are the chief rules for the average person speaking in a meeting. Rise and say, "Mr. President," thus asking for the floor, and wait until you are recognized before beginning to speak. Have clearly in mind the motion before the house, or propose one yourself. Speak for or against the motion, or for its amendment, or postponement, but always speak to the motion.

The following summary of a meeting may indicate some of the commonest forms:

The president takes his place behind the table, raps for quiet, and says, "Gentlemen, the meeting will please come to order"; or, if a quorum is necessary he will say, "Gentlemen, a quorum being present, the meeting will please come to order."

THE PRESIDENT. "The secretary will read the minutes of the last meeting."

The secretary reads the minutes.

THE PRESIDENT. "You have heard the minutes; are there any corrections? If there are no objections, the minutes stand approved."

The president then takes up the regular order of business or states the special business before the meeting. We will suppose an important committee is reporting.

CHAIRMAN OF COMMITTEE. "Mr. Presiednt: On behalf of the House Committee I beg to present the following report." He reads the report which ends with a resolution authorizing the appropriation of a sum of money for a given period. He concludes, "Mr. President, I move the adoption of this resolution."

MR. A. "Mr. President, I second that motion." (It is the usual practice to require motions to be seconded, though President Butler points out that this is not required in all assemblies.)

THE PRESIDENT. "It is moved and seconded to adopt the resolution of the House Committee as read, appropriating $500 a month for five months. Is there any discussion?"

The chairman speaks describing the reasons for the resolutions more fully than in his report. Other members speak.

MR. B. "Mr. President."

THE PRESIDENT. "Mr. B."

MR. B. "I move to amend the resolution by striking out the word *five* and inserting the word *three,* making the resolution read for three months."

MR. C. "Mr. President, I second the amendment."

THE PRESIDENT. "Gentlemen, you have heard the amendment changing the resolution so as to provide for the monthly appropriation of $500 for three instead of five months. Is there any discussion of the amendment?"

Several members discuss the amendment.

MR. D, after being recognized by the president, moves an amendment to the amendment, striking out three and inserting in its place four, so as to make the appropriation for four months. After some discussion the president puts the question.

THE PRESIDENT. "The question is on the amendment to the amendment, making the resolution read, for four months. As many as are in favor say Aye. Those opposed, No. The Ayes have it. The resolution is now amended to read 'for four months.' Are you ready to vote on the resolution as amended?"

MR. E. "Mr. President, I move to lay the resolution on the table."

MR. F. "Mr. President, I second the motion to table."

MR. G. "Mr. President, I must say I object to this method."

THE PRESIDENT. "I shall have to call the gentleman to order. A motion to lay on the table is not debatable. It is moved and seconded to lay on the table the resolution as amended. Those in favor say Aye; those opposed say No. The Noes have it. The motion to lay on the table is lost.

The original resolution as amended is before you. Will the secretary read the resolution as amended."

The secretary reads the resolution. The president puts it to a vote, and it is carried.

Mr. H. "Mr. President, I move we do now adjourn."

Mr. J. "Mr. President, I second the motion."

Mr. K. "I should like to suggest that we start these meetings a little earlier."

The President. "A motion to adjourn is not debatable. Gentlemen, you have heard the motion to adjourn. As many as are in favor say Aye; contrary, No. The Ayes have it The meeting is adjourned."

II. DEBATES

SELIGMAN—NEARING ON
CAPITALISM vs. SOCIALISM

LADY RHONDDA—CHESTERTON ON
THE LEISURED WOMAN

A PUBLIC DEBATE ON
CAPITALISM vs. SOCIALISM

PROFESSOR E. R. A. SELIGMAN, AFFIRMATIVE
Head of the Department of Economics, Columbia University

PROFESSOR SCOTT NEARING, NEGATIVE
Rand School of Social Science

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, CHAIRMAN
Editor of *The Nation*

SUBJECT. *Resolved:* That Capitalism has more to offer to the workers of the United States than has Socialism.

Held at the Lexington Theater, New York City, January 23, 1921, under the auspices of The Fine Arts Guild. Full report by the Convention Reporting Company.

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

INTRODUCTION

It seems to me that the function of a chairman of this debate ought to partake of the character of a refereeship. I believe that you would be most pleased if I were to simply make the debaters come forward, shake hands and then fall to, I standing by with my watch in hand to take the time. In fact, I really cannot see why the chairman should say anything on this occasion. But I suppose I was chosen for this sporting event because I am a middle-of-the-roader between the two. I am not a Socialist, and yet I am not one who believes that Socialists are wild beasts to be excluded from polite society and legislatures because we do not like their point of view on matters economic and social.

I grew up in the tradition of the Manchester school of *laissez faire* and I still believe that if human nature were what it ought to be, the doctrines of this school would be the ones to be followed. But I am open-minded enough to see that, whether we like Socialism or do not, the experiment is going to be tried in large sections of the earth. I was very much struck by the fact that when I returned from Europe, a few months after the armistice, there were few people whom I met who would believe that I had seen the Red Flag flying over as many public buildings as I saw others that did not have it. It seemed to make Americans very angry to tell them that their troops had been the decisive factor in creating twenty-three Socialist Republics in Germany alone, to say nothing of the other Central European Republics. When I returned I found New York City forbidding the hoisting or carrying of the Red Flag, and, as you know, there exists the greatest confusion in the minds of public men and editors in America as to what constitutes Socialism. To most of our leader-writers there is no difference whatever between the Socialism of the Right, the Socialism of

the Left, Bolshevism, Communism and Anarchism. They are all anathema to the American business man, who lumps them together. Hence, any such occasion as this is heartily to be welcomed, not only for its educational value but because it indicates a return to our habitual American policy of talking things out on their merits, fairly and openly. Lately, the idea has been to lynch the Socialist first and discuss matters with him afterwards.

We are having additional evidence of this intolerance of new ideas in the refusal of the American Legion in Kansas to allow the Nonpartisan League's organizers to talk to the farmers of that state about their proposals for the farmers' economic freedom. How inconsistent we are in these matters appears further from the fact that at the very moment that the Socialist legislators were being thrown out of the Legislature at Albany the then Governor of the State, Alfred Smith, solemnly proposed no less than nine ultraradical or Socialistic laws, including such things as the ownership, development and operation of all water powers by the state, maternity insurance, the municipal operation of all public utilities, the taking over of the medical and nursing professions to the extent of supplying doctors and nurses to rural communities now destitute of such aid, the declaration that production and distribution of milk are a public utility subject to the control of the State in all details, and state-owned and operated elevators in three cities, precisely after the manner of the Nonpartisan League plans in North Dakota. I have long thought that "Al" Smith was a wonderful man, but I do not know of anything in his career that is more wonderful than the fact that he got away with these proposals without even being denounced as a Socialist by the New York *Times*. Of course, he did not get what he asked, but the point is that if the Governor of North Dakota were to come out to-morrow and demand these things the New York *Times* would shriek with anger and declare that Bolshevizing of America was at hand. The so-called Socialistic experiments of North Dakota can be paralleled in almost every state in one field or another, as for instance, in the cotton warehouses in New Orleans and the grain elevators now being erected in New York State. While North Dakota's proposal to issue bonds

for home-building has led to the rejection of their six and a half million bond issue by New York and Boston bankers, many eminent and conservative senators are feeling that here in the East, the states, and even the Federal Government, will have to go into the housing business.

All of which, I think, proves my case that the Socialistic experiment in greater or less degree is going to be undertaken by the world. In the ardent hope that it may produce a better world than we have been living in, my plea to-day is, as I have said, not for Socialism, but for a careful examination of this and all other proposals for the betterment of the race which is so badly off, that, for all we know, civilization may not recover from the shock of this war. I am sure that I cannot define the position which the non-Socialist public ought to take toward this question better than by reading to you an extract from an editorial which appeared about ten years ago in the columns of the New York *Nation* from the pen of its gifted and noble-spirited editor of that day—the late Hammond Lamont. It is as follows:

> Convinced though we are that the reasoning of the Socialists is fallacious, we incline to the belief that a Socialist agitation may in the long run prove beneficial to this country. We were opposed to the free coinage of silver, and yet we are convinced that the two great political campaigns in which that subject was treated so fully in the press and on the platform were extremely valuable in their educational effect. Thousands, nay, millions, of men and women who had grown up without the slightest notion of economics in general and finance in particular, became fairly well versed in the topic; they were made more intelligent and better citizens; and in the end they sustained the principle of sound money. In like manner Socialism may be the means of widening intellectual horizons; it may lay before Americans a new view of some of the larger questions of life—far larger than the petty tenets of trade-unionism. It may set us to thinking; and the salvation of a republic depends upon the efforts of its citizens to think seriously about its affairs. For one thing, Socialism is eminently a peace movement; it is steadily opposed to militarism; and it will thus help us to see more clearly the silliness of the huge naval and military expenditures in which we seem bound to rival the groaning nations of Europe. And as for other questions—we cannot believe that error will permanently prevail over truth. We are confident that individualism, in its main features, is the policy which has formed and which must pre-

serve our institutions. But if we conservatives are mistaken, we cannot but welcome a discussion which shall open our eyes and set us right. Our attitude toward this topic, as toward any other which touches the vitals of our nation, must be that of readiness to defend our faith in open forum, to meet and conquer with reason.

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN

PRESENTATION

MR. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:—In beginning a debate of this magnitude, it is pertinent to inquire what the words mean What do we really understand by Capitalism and what by Socialism? Unless we are clear about that, we are wandering in a maze of uncertainty. Now, by Capitalism, I think that we may understand that form of industrial organization where the means of production—and by that I mean primarily under modern technological conditions the machine and the funds required to work the machine—are in the control of private individuals. The difficulty of defining Socialism is that while Capitalism is an institution, Socialism is only a theory, unless indeed we accept the sporadic examples that we find in the middle of the nineteenth century in this country, and unless we also accept the gigantic enterprise that is now being conducted by Soviet Russia. There are all manner of forms of Socialism and Socialistic theory. There is the Anarchistic Socialism. There is the State Socialism. There is the sentimental and scientific Socialism. And finally there is the Guild Socialism. What is worse, the Socialists themselves are by no means in agreement. The scientific Socialist, the Marxist, scorns the sentimental Socialist. The Marxian Socialism is supposed to be interpreted by the Menshevik Socialist, but the Menshevik is put by the Bolshevik Socialist in the ranks of the bourgeois. So that you have your choice of the different brands of Socialism as a theory. But as an organization, as an industrial form, all these various forms and kinds of Socialism are permeated by one common idea. That is, that the control of the methods of production, that the control of capital—for, of course, Socialists like everyone else concede the necessity of

E. R. A. SELIGMAN

capital—that the control of capital shall be in the hands of the group and that there shall be no room for private rent, private interest or private profits.

Having thus defined those two opposing ideas, the next point that I desire to make is that while there are all forms and kinds of capitalists, just as there are all kinds and manners of human beings, there are reactionary or stand-pat capitalists and forward-looking, progressive capitalists; while that is true, my contention is that there is only one form of Capitalism and that is progressive Capitalism. Every form of industrial organization is progressive. Slavery in the early centuries was very different from slavery in the later centuries. Serfdom at the beginning was very different from serfdom at the end. Feudalism at its inception was quite contrary perhaps, in many respects, to feudalism at the end. Capitalism is in the very earliest stages of its development, and there are still huge portions of the world which have not yet entered upon Capitalism, like parts of China, like Africa, like many other portions of the world. My contention, therefore, is that by Capitalism we mean a progressive form of industrial society.

The next point that I desire to make is that Capitalism must not be misunderstood. Our debate relates to the welfare of the laborer under Capitalism. Now, it depends not alone upon the direct results so far as the laborer is concerned, what he gets in the way of food and remuneration for his services, etc., but it depends also upon the indirect results. Therefore, the problem is not simply an analysis of the better distribution of wealth, but it is also the far more important problem of the production of wealth. We must consider the two forms of industrial organization from both these points of view.

And finally, before we proceed to come to close grips with the subject itself, let me call attention to the fact that while I do not intend to discuss the theories of Socialism nor the ideal framework of society as elaborated by Karl Marx, I do wish to point out that among his many fundamental doctrines, two at least, and those most germane to our discussion, are no longer upheld and maintained by many of the Socialists themselves. The ordinary Socialist will say to you that the rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. That is simply

putting into common language the pauperization theory of society as outlined by Karl Marx. We all know, however, that the facts have given lie to this statement, and while it is true that the rich have gotten richer, it is also true that the poor are no longer so poor as they were. This has led no less important Socialists than Berstein in Germany and Tugan Baronowsky in Russia to say, "Let us abandon that argument for Socialism." The other argument which is germane to our discussion is the cataclysm theory of society, the argument of Marx that owing to the accumulation of capital, crises occur every few years, that these crises and panics go from worse to worse until finally they become so overwhelming in their nature that a catastrophic cataclysm of society will occur, and Socialism will come in. Marx wrote in the fifties and sixties, and indeed in the early period of capitalist society, it seemed as if his theory were being borne out by the facts. The panic of 1837 was worse than that of 1818; that of 1857 was still worse; that of 1873, the world-wide crisis, the worst of all. But then, and for reasons that I shall mention, came a change. We had gotten over the top and in 1884 the panic was not quite so bad as in 1873 and in 1894 it was not so bad as it was in 1884, and in 1907 it was markedly less bad than in 1894 and to-day, where we are again at the beginning of a period of depression and bad business and unemployment, we are no longer confronted by even the prospect of anything like what happened in the nineteenth century. And what is still more true, we find that where Socialism has been adopted as it has been adopted in Russia to-day, the lie again is given to the Marxian theory because the revolution has come not in a country where Capitalism has been most developed but in the country where Capitalism has been least developed.

Now, then, taking up the points in order, I want first to call attention to the achievements of Capitalism. We are now not discussing what might have been attained under other conditions but simply what has been attained. What are the actual facts and achievements of Capitalism? I should sum them up as follows: first and foremost, I should say that we must recognize the accumulation of wealth irrespective of where it is and in whose hands it is—the cheapening of production and the

accumulation of wealth—because it is undeniable that certain advantages from this accumulation of capital and wealth accrue to the worker. Take as an example the railway system of this country with its twenty billions of capital, which would have been impossible in any preceding order of society and consider its benefits in taking the laborer to and from his work every day; take the accumulation of wealth as typified in this city in our Public Libraries, in our Museum of Natural History, in our Museum of Art and in all other things which make for the convenience and pleasure of life. None of these things would have been possible nor have they ever been possible in a state of society where there has not been an accumulation of capital. For while civilization indeed has its spiritual and indubitable ethical and religious ends, there is no doubt that civilization as we know it, even on the spiritual side, must needs be built up on a certain material basis and substructure. The accumulation of capital itself is an undoubted achievement.

In the second place, I should put the diversification of consumption. Compare the world to-day with what it was in all previous ages and consider what the laborer—even though he be the most poorly paid of all laborers—eats and what he wears and what he has with which to shelter himself. All of this is the result of the capitalist system. The bread which he eats comes from the wheat grown on the farms of North Dakota, and milled in the great mills of Minneapolis and brought here by the railway. The meat which he consumes comes from the far west of this country or perhaps from the pampas of Argentine. The tea which his family occasionally drinks is brought from far off Cathay, and the sugar with which he sweetens the cup comes from all parts of the world, from Cuba or the Far East. Even the tobacco with which he solaces his leisure hours may for all he knows come from Sumatra or from other portions of the Orient. And so it is with what he wears. His shoe is made of leather, tanned from the hides brought from the wilds of Sibera, the steppes of Russia or the plains of South America. The wool which makes his suit may come for all he knows from Australia and even the soap with which he occasionally washes himself [laughter] in all probability comes from the palm or the cocoa oil of Africa; while the trolley

with which he goes to his work is built very largely of iron produced in the mills of Pittsburgh from the raw materials from all parts of the west. This gigantic capitalist machine has rendered possible a diversification of consumption which has been unknown heretofore in the history of the world.

In the third place, Capitalism is responsible for democracy. The democracy of classic antiquity was one based on sham, a pseudodemocracy resting upon slavery. The democracy even of our forefathers, when we declared our independence of England, was not a real democracy. It was an aristocracy. The policies of New Yorkers as late as 1800 at the time of Hamilton and Burr were run by the great families precisely as in England, and it is false to claim as many have claimed that it is the frontier that has given us our democracy. We had a frontier in the eighteenth century, but we had no democracy. England has no frontier in the British Isles to-day and has produced a democracy. What has brought about democracy is the industrial revolution or modern Capitalism and that means a public opinion which has never existed before in the history of the world. As a result, every workman, no matter how humble he be, to-day has democracy and enjoys a voice in influencing even to a small extent the management of the affairs of the states under which he lives.

In the fourth place, I should put as one of the achievements of Capitalism, liberty of movement. In the Middle Ages, there was no liberty. The serf was bound to the soil, and it is only since Capitalism has developed that we have the modern liberty of movement, carrying with it as a result the liberty of production as well as the liberty of consumption.

And finally, to cap the climax, modern Capitalism is responsible for education and for science. Never before in the history of the world have we had a form of public instruction comparable to our own. Weak though it be, the amounts of money that are spent to-day in every modern capitalistic society for the public schools, for the education that goes down into the kindergarten and up into the State University is something that the world before has never known. And science also is a direct product of Capitalism. There was indeed a certain form of science among the Greeks, among the

Arabs, etc. But science, by which we mean the unlocking of the secrets of nature, is distinctly a modern product. It began only with the introduction of modern Capitalism and it is most strongly developed and progressive in the home of modern Capitalism. And you all see why that is—because the modern business man in order to succeed must know the secrets of nature. He must secure the proof and in order to get the proof he must employ and utilize those forms of organized investigation which we call science.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, those are great achievements. Never before in the several hundred thousands or millions of years that man has been upon the earth have such things been accomplished.

I do not deny indeed that there is a dark side as well, and to that I now come to address myself for a few minutes. What are the weaknesses and excrescenses of Capitalism? My point is that since Capitalism is a progressive form of society, these weaknesses are remedial and these excrescences are being lopped off. What are those weaknesses? In the first place, we have unfair competition between businesses and human beings. But we all realize that this is being gradually done away with. A Jay Gould or Jim Fiske would be unthinkable in modern times; and even though in the railways we may still hear of the Rock Island or the Atchison or the New Haven and Hartford, we must remember that now for the first time in the history of our country their forces are being harnessed up and that the Interstate Commerce Commission is now regulating the issues of securities which will render such things impossible in the future. What President Roosevelt did, among all his many accomplishments, was to so change certain forms of unfair competition as to make them more difficult. Society under modern Capitalism is gradually rendering competition more and more fair.

In the second place, we have as one of these sad results the fact that unjust privileges still continue and that certain forms of integrated organization known as potential monopolies sometimes make their appearance. But we find also that as soon as those evils are recognized they are being counteracted and we have to-day in our trade commission and in many other forms

of organization a powerful counteragent which is gradually doing away with many forms of privilege.

In the third place, I should say that modern Capitalism does result in exaggerated fortunes. The development of a leisure class has its bad sides at a time when everyone ought to be working. But what has society under modern Capitalism done? A generation ago, I wrote a book on Progressive Taxation and I was attacked on all sides by the reactionary and the standpatter on the ground that I was preaching confiscation. Nowadays, everyone, the capitalist like the others, not only believes in, but argues for, progressive taxation. We have to-day gone further in this country than in any other—perhaps as some of us think, even too far—with a system that takes up to 69–73 per cent of a man's income and in some cases even more. Progressive taxation is a sign of what modern Capitalism is doing to restrict some of its own evils.

Now, when you come to the laborer there are of course some very great evils, but they also are gradually being overcome. Take the conditions of work and the hours of work. Many years ago, the Reform movement was for twelve hours a day. I remember the ten-hour-day movement. Then there came the great fight for the eight-hour day, and now some of our factory laws even permit only a six-hour day in certain industries. Capitalism itself is gradually changing those conditions [hearty laughter]—Capitalism is changing those conditions not because it likes to do it but because it is compelled to do it by the letting loose of those very forces which are implicit in modern forms of Capitalism. As it is with the hours, so with the wages. Wages are by no means what they ought to be. Wages are certainly far less than they should be. But wages have been growing during the last hundred years indubitably, and starting in Australia, going on to England, and now proceeding in this country, we have the great minimum wage movement which is gradually improving these conditions.

And finally we come to the two great indictments of our present system: first, the insecurity of employment for the workman—that very great evil which is being attacked and which is entirely susceptible of being eradicated by the application of the same principle that we have applied to accidents,

that we have applied to many other evils, namely, the insurance principle. There is no reason why the workman should be made to bear, as he does to-day, the burden of unemployment and of insecurity of tenure. [Applause.]

We have already to-day in the unemployment insurance law of England the faint beginnings of a movement which I am convinced will spread within the next three or four decades like wildfire throughout the world. The regularization of industry must be brought about by industry itself with the aid of the state, and it is being brought about under modern methods.

And finally, the last point, the joylessness of life. That to a certain extent must continue under any form of industrial government as long as we have the machine. Machines will be needed under Socialism as under Capitalism. But the real joylessness of the machine tender can be diminished and can be partially done away with by giving him more of a participation in the industry itself, as we are gradually doing through what we call industrial democracy. By giving him more hours of leisure as we are gradually doing, we are giving him the time in which he can regain the joy which he loses in his work. The joylessness of industry is not so much the indictment of Capitalism as it is the indictment of machinery. We must meet it and fight it and counter it wherever we can.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in the few minutes that are left, I want to say a word to explain why, with all these reservations, I am not a Socialist. [Laughter.] And I should put it in this way. In the first place, as regards the remuneration of labor, Socialism preaches equal pay. A bonus, Lenine told us, was something only for bourgeois society. Equal pay means payment according to need. But unfortunately it is not payment according to need but rather according to efficient work that is really productive. Even in Russia to-day, they have been compelled to give up their original plans of payment according to need, and they now have developed the bonus system to a point even unheard of in the United States.

In the second place, let us deal with the other side of it, the man at the top. If society has progressed at all events in some respects, it is due above all to the man who has been the leader —the leader in industry. Leaders are rare in industry. And

while I am perfectly well aware of the new Psychology which shows us the fallacy of the old economic man of Ricardo, it remains none the less true that the real impulses and tendencies of human nature, the desire for distinction, for self-expression, for mastery, that all these things after all center themselves in the effort to do a little better than one's neighbor. We may not believe as our great Emerson said, that we are all as lazy as we dare to be, but it is true that the race horse does best when he has a pace maker, and even we who sometimes play golf, don't play as well alone as when we play against a partner.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, under Socialism, the possibilities of leadership would be restricted for two reasons: first, you would not have the incentive that you have now, and in the second place, the risk would be far more limited. Nowadays people who get to the top through the selective process do so because they are willing and able to take risks. Under any form of Socialistic government, the risk could not, would not be taken because they could not afford to take it. These two points, the selective process of the modern competitive system and the restriction of the risk function in modern society, are to my mind the chief indictments against Socialism. Then we finally come to the restriction of liberty. I need only allude to certain Socialists themselves who tell us what the other kinds of Socialism would do in restraining liberty. But of that point we shall speak later. At all events you see why I am not a Socialist. [Great and prolonged applause.]

CHAIRMAN: Every American, whatever his economic beliefs, owes a debt of gratitude to the next speaker. He was one of those Americans who insisted even in war time upon the freedom of conscience and liberty to speak and write which are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. [Great applause.] The foolish and blind law officers of a now utterly discredited administration sought to deprive him and us of the rights for which he stood, and Mr. Scott Nearing went into the court and, unlike some others placed in the same position, abated not one jot from the position which he had taken. [Great applause.] And with true intellectual heroism con-

SCOTT NEARING

vinced a jury of American citizens that he was within his rights and this was still in some respects a free country. [Laughter.] I have the pleasure of presenting Scott Nearing. [Prolonged applause.]

PROFESSOR NEARING

PRESENTATION

Professor Seligman has given us what I consider two very satisfactory definitions of the issue before us this afternoon. He has defined Capitalism as that form of industrial organization where the means of production, primarily the machines, are in the control of private individuals. He has defined Socialism as the control of capital in the hands of the group, and under it there shall be no room for private rent, interest or profit. Beginning as he does with these two definitions, I reach a somewhat dissimilar conclusion. [Laughter.] I do not see Capitalism in so rosy a light as does Professor Seligman, and I want to try to explain to you in the brief time that I have why not, and what the Socialists propose to put in its place, and I want to explain them under three headings: first, the ownership of the machinery of production; second, the control arising out of such ownership; third, the direction resulting from such control. And I want to try to demonstrate to you that under Capitalism the worker has to accept, first, intermittent starvation; second, slavery; and third, war. [Applause.]

Professor Seligman says that Capitalism is progressive. So are some diseases. [Hearty laughter and applause.] Under the present system of society, a little group of people own resources, machines, capital, all of the machinery upon which forty million workers depend for their living. That is, the capitalist owns the job. The capitalist owns the job without which the worker dies of starvation. The worker, therefore, must go to the capitalist and ask for permission to work. To what extent has this ownership been concentrated in the United States? I wish that I could answer that intelligently, but the

best that I can do is to cite you the 1918 income tax returns. In that year, 1918, you remember that prices were about what they are now. In that year $200 a week was not a fortune by any means. Two hundred dollars a week was not much wealth in 1918. But there were only 160,000 people in this whole United States who reported incomes of as much as $200 a week. That is, fourteen persons in every thousand of the population, four persons for every thousand gainfully employed, one family for every five hundred families in the land, with incomes of $10,000 a year, $200 a week. They tell us that Rome and Assyria and Babylonia and those old countries reached a point of concentration where one per cent of the people owned the wealth of the Empires. I say to you, in America, 1918, four in every thousand of those gainfully employed earned $200 a week. I wish I could give you the figures of ownership, but I could not collect them. Senator Pettigrew in 1890 had the census take an estimate of wealth, and since 1890 every census has specifically excluded any estimate of wealth ownership in the United States. Be that as it may, I need not stress the point. The facts speak for themselves. We have in America a little handful of persons owning the railroads, the banks, manufactories, mining and other establishments, and to them go tens of millions of men and women asking for jobs, for the right to make a living. But the master, the owner, replies "in order to have a job you must produce—produce something for yourself and something for me and the interest, dividends, profits, returns, for which I do not labor." Said Abraham Lincoln in 1858: "A slave society is one in which one class says to another class, you work and toil and earn bread and we will eat it." These owners of American capital, these stock and bond holders say to the American worker, "you work and toil and earn bread and we will eat it." How much do they get of the bread produced by the workers? Get a copy of Senate Document 259. You cannot get a copy because they were not distributed. Get a copy of that document of profiteering and find out how much they made in 1917—hundreds, thousands of per cent of profit in a single year—in America, the richest of rich countries! In America, the center of the greatest empire on earth, we report twenty-six per cent of our school chil-

dren underfed in the schools. We reported that before the present economic unpleasantness began. [Applause and laughter.] We reported that while we were still urging the worker to produce and while he was turning out not only enough for his own daily sustenance, but in addition enough to provide the capitalist with a surplus, and that surplus went to the front, and we burned it in Europe, and when the war was over we burned a bit of it here at home and the burning got too expensive. The worker received less in wages than he had created in product. He could not buy back the volume that he had produced. The capitalist, the owner of the shop, did not need to use what had been produced and given to him as surplus. He wanted to dispose of it. The war gave him a chance. Exports gave him some chance, but then that chance was ended and the capitalist said to the worker last April, last May, last June, the capitalist said to the worker, "There will be no more work." And in textiles, boots and shoes, automobiles and now later in steel and other industries, they are laying them off. I got a report from the New York State Industrial Commission this week: 643,000 men and women out of work in New York State. What have they done? Why, they cannot have work. But what have they done? Why, they have produced too much. They have created too great a surplus. They must wait to produce more until this surplus is consumed. Can they consume it? No! because they did not receive enough wages to buy it back. [Applause.] And so in this country to-day three million people are out of work. You do not see these figures stated in the newspapers.

In the first six months of 1920, the average number of commercial failures per month was 500; in July, 598; August, 633; September, 661; October, 802; November, 892; December, 1,854; the first three weeks of January, 1,482, and so the number mounts. Professor Seligman has already referred to this. I have a book here called "A History of Panics in the United States" written by a Frenchman, translated by an American business man, and this book gives a record of the panics that we have had under Capitalism: "1814, 1818, 1826, 1837, 1848, 1857, 1864, 1873, 1884, 1897, 1903, 1907, 1913"—and 1921. [Laughter.] That book contains one of the most damning in-

dictments that was ever written on Capitalism. "Capitalism," says the author, "consists of three phases: prosperity, panic and liquidation." [Laughter.] Prosperity is the period when the dinner pail is full and the hopes are high, when the little man drops his tools and leaves his bench, borrows his capital, buys a machine and goes into business. Panic is the period when the little fellows get the tools and the machines shaken out of their hands and start back for the bench, and liquidation is the period when the big fellows pick up what is around loose, put it in their pockets and go off richer than they were before. [Hearty laughter and applause.] "Progressive," says Seligman. I say "No! Successive." And as long as Capitalism lasts, so long will men and women by the millions walk the streets looking for work, and so long will their gas bills be paid and their children starve—successive starvation, successive periods of physical misery and death from lack of physical means in the center of the greatest wealth that the world knows. That is what Capitalism has to offer the world. [Applause.]

What do we Socialists want? Why, we want to own these things ourselves. [Laughter.] As we own the harbor of New York, so we want to own the coal mines, the railroads, the factories in order that no surplus may be produced, in order that the value of a product shall be represented by the value paid to a consumer. [Applause.] So that he who creates can buy back the value that he creates. [Applause.] Quite simple and quite inevitable in the long run.

But I don't stress that point. It is not essential. It is my second point about which I wish to talk—about slavery. "Whenever a man says to another man, 'You go and work and earn bread and I will eat it,'" said Lincoln, "it is slavery." That is Capitalism and that is my chief charge against Capitalism, and that is the thing that we Socialists set up as our highest hope in Socialism, not that it will give us steadier bread, more regular bread, more bread, and not that we will get more to eat out of Socialism, but that we will get more liberty. That is where we place our hope, and I want to explain the contrast because it is fundamental. The United States I said was owned by capitalists—worse than that, owned by capitalist corpora-

tions, owned impersonally, not by individuals who have made their pile and bought their machinery—owned by Trusts, owned by great organizations with their stocks and their bonds and their big business mechanisms. I wish I had time to read you this last report of the National City Bank to show you how the ownership works out. Here is a list of the Board of Directors. This is the biggest bank in North America. Here is a list of the Board of Directors: Percy A. Rockefeller, William Rockefeller, J. Ogden Armour, Nicholas F. Brady of the New York Edison Company, Cleveland H. Dodge, Philip A. S. Franklin, etc. What is the National City Bank? Why, it is the center of a great web of economic power. Here is the report issued by the Pujo Committee. At the center of the spider's web, they put in a great banking concern, J. P. Morgan & Company, and around that banking concern they group railroads, public utilities, industries, mines and other forms of industrial enterprise. At the center of the power lies the strength and the weakness of the system, lies the banker. I have not time to dwell on that further than to call your attention to this fact that the Federal Reserve System with its 30,000 banks and its Board of Directors sitting in one place around the table, has more power than any single institution on the face of the civilized earth, and that Federal Reserve System is in private hands. It is privately owned practically. It is under government supervision, yes, but the Federal Reserve System is the nerve center, the center of authority, the center of power, and what are they going to do with this control that they exercise through their banking machine? I want to read you a paragraph from a weekly letter sent by one business house to its clients. "The war taught employing classes in America the secret and power of widespread propaganda. Now, when we have anything to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it. We have learned. We have the schools, we have the pulpit." The employment class owns the press, the economic power centering in the banks, schools, pulpit, press, movie screen, all the power of widespread propaganda now. "When we have something to sell to the American people, we know how to sell it." Slavery—going to the boss and asking for the privilege of a job—slavery—sending

your child to school and having him pumped full of virulent propaganda in favor of the present system. [Great applause.] Slavery in every phase of life all tied up under this one bank's control. Is it true that no man is good enough to rule another man without that man's consent? Is that still true in America or in the world? If that be true, every worker in the shop shall have the right to say who shall exercise authority over him in the shop. Every worker in an industry has the right to pick or help pick these members as Board of Directors. Do you suppose the workers in the National City Bank elected William Rockefeller and Percy Rockefeller and J. Ogden Armour? [Laughter.] In the United States, a worker goes to work on a machine owned by the boss. He works on materials owned by the boss. He lives in a country where the organized power of the boss concentrated in the banking system is supreme over every phase of life. He is a slave—industrial slave—because he cannot call one economic right his own, and we Socialists want to have industry not only owned by those who participate in it, but we want to have those who participate in industry direct the industry in which they participate. Industrial self-control, self-government in industry as Mr. Cole has put it—that is all—simple ideas—ownership by the worker of his own job, the control by a man of his own economic life.

And third, I spoke about the direction of industry. I read you the report of the last annual meeting of the United States Steel Corporation. At this meeting, according to the New York *Times*, there was voted two million and one-quarter shares of common and one and one-half million shares of preferred stock. Stockholders who attended the meeting represented 340 shares of preferred stock and 4,000 shares of common and the rest were voted by proxy—so many million shares on this side, so many million shares on this side, and the policy of the United States Steel Corporation is formed and unionism is crushed out, and this or that line of industrial policy pursued by a little handful of men and women who have nothing better to do with their leisure than to go and sit through a meeting of the United States Steel Corporation stockholders—that is the biggest corporation in America—direction not only by absentee ownership but direction by little cliques of lawyers holding

proxies in their hands, by executives of great industries speaking in the name of stockholders. And what did they do? Last year, in the United States, that is in 1919, they floated twelve thousand millions of new capital stock and bonds; in 1920 they floated fourteen thousand millions of new capital stocks and bonds. Did you have any say in that? Does the worker speak when it is decided to put these twenty-five billions into new capital under circumstances when it is almost certain that it cannot function? Does the worker speak? No, it was done by voting shares. They go out in Thrace. They support General Wrangel. They go down into Mexico. They follow into Haiti. And then what happens? Other stockholders in other countries, Royal Dutch Shell stockholders, British stockholders, voting policy against Standard Oil; Standard Oil stockholders if they vote, voting against Royal Dutch Shell; and you hear the echoes of the conflict over the markets of France and you hear the echoes of their conflicts for the rights in Central Europe. What is going to be the result? When will it be necessary to put the war paint on the battleships? When will it be necessary to call out the battalions and send them? In 1914 Great Britain had a highway to the sea. Germany wanted it. A pistol shot sounds in Central Europe, and ten million men go to their graves to decide that Great Britain shall hold Bagdad and that Germany shall pay what she can. [Applause.]

In 1914, there was not a Socialist state in Europe—capitalist Germany, capitalist France, capitalist Russia, capitalist Italy, capitalist Britain—all of the great group of capitalist Empires grabbing the world to rob it and fighting one another to the death to determine who should have the right to do the plundering. They produced a surplus as I said. They could not spend it at home. They took it abroad and in the course of taking it abroad they had to make war—capitalist war—and working men went and fought and died in that capitalistic war which they told us through their propaganda machinery was a war for democracy. [Applause.] What does the worker want? Why, he wants to keep the strings of economic life himself. Capitalism offers him intermittent starvation, industrial slavery, recurring war. Socialism offers him subsistence, economic self-government, a basis for peace.

And I would like to ask Professor Seligman if he and I were miners up in Panther Creek, in the Philadelphia Reading Coal and Iron Company, whether he would be an ardent supporter of the present economic system. [Great applause.] And I want to ask him this further question, whether under those circumstances he would put any obstacle in the way of the coming of such a system as I have described to you. [Great and prolonged applause.]

CHAIRMAN: Professor Seligman now has 20 minutes for rebuttal. [Great applause.]

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN

REBUTTAL

IF I were a coal miner in Pennsylvania, I think that was the miner that was mentioned, I should say that the answer had already been given by Mr. Nearing. [Laughter.] Mr. Nearing said that he wanted Socialism in order that no surplus shall be produced. That is my objection to Socialism. [Applause.] The world has progressed in civilization only because every generation did not consume all that it produced, but that it laid by a surplus. [Applause.] Under Socialism, ladies and gentlemen, not alone will no surplus be laid by, but from my point of view the conditions of production will be so far inferior that even the amount available for consumption on the part of the laborer will be less than it is to-day. If I were therefore an intelligent coal miner, I would say I should rather live in the coal mines of Pennsylvania with a chance at all events once in a while of getting something to eat, rather than to live under a condition let us say like that of China to-day, where without Capitalism, starvation is not alone intermittent but almost continuous. [Laughter.]

Now, the second point; we have heard the old story retold to us that life is impossible for the working man because the capitalist owns the job and does not need the working man. How long would the shareholders of the United States Steel

Corporation if that were all they had to live on—how long would they continue to enjoy their luxuries if the workmen all stopped work permanently? [Applause.] Does the workman need the job giver any more than the job giver needs the workman? And my point is, where you have those conditions under which leadership can develop to create new jobs, the workman will be far better off than where he has control alone of his own job. [Slight applause.] Don't mistake me. One point in which Mr. Nearing did not meet me at all, but which I trust he will meet in his rebuttal, is this: that while we may be entirely favorable to the aspirations and the hopes and the desires of the great mass of the working population, he must prove that forces are not at work under Capitalism which will meet and realize those hopes and those aspirations. Now, Mr. Nearing says "I put my chief argument on the score of liberty." Let us see what we can make of that. We have at the present time a form of Socialism in operation, the only realization of a practical Socialism on a large scale with which the world has ever been confronted. How does the workman fare there with liberty? By chance, I happen to have in my possession a reprint of some of the official documents and statements issued during the last few months in Russia, and I shall take up part of my time by reading how it stands with liberty under Socialism. First, I have the resolution of the Petrograd government printing office workers of two months ago. "Our work to-day lasts twelve hours. We are compelled to work in two shifts in the paper department of our factory, and we have to work both Saturdays and Sundays. No exception is made with regard to women; since August 15th, overtime work has been compulsory."

There you have liberty. [Laughter and applause.] In the second place, I have extracts from *The Metallurgist*, an organ of the metallurgical workers. "At our factory, absolute submission to the administration of the plant has been established. No arguments or interference with its orders on the part of the workers are tolerated. At our factory, failure to report for work without permission is punishable by forfeiture of extra food. The same punishment is meted out for refusal to do compulsory overtime work. For being late on the job, two

days' food are deducted." And here comes the resolution of all the Petrograd workers on September 5th, as a result of the liberty of Socialism: "We feel as if we were hard labor convicts where everything has been subject to iron rules. We have become lost as human beings and have been turned into slaves." There is your Socialistic liberty. [Great applause.] And how does Socialism deal with the strike? Let me read you the report of the decision of the Commissar of the special commission at the railway works. "All active strikers shall be turned over to the Extraordinary Commission for the purpose of sending them to forced labor." And what does the commission do? Here is the report. "The strike at our works ended, thanks to numerous arrests among the strikers. Concerning the fate of twelve of our workers, we have no news. The Extraordinary Commission refuses all information about them. As far as we can learn they have been shot." There is liberty under Socialism.

And finally, the last extract I shall read to you is the report of the President of the Petrograd Commune to a delegation from the workers of a certain city who complained of being starved and not getting enough to eat. "Yes, we do admit," he says, "that the food allowance is insufficient, but at the same time we know full well—this has been taught by real life—that as long as the worker or plain citizen is busy obtaining food he takes no interest in politics. Just give the workingman enough to eat to-day and you will hear him cry to-morrow for civic liberties. Our object," says the Socialistic Government, "is to keep the workers just from dying." [Applause.] What is the use of prating about these beautiful ideals, the fabric of the imagination? As soon as you get Socialism into practice, and mind you, Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky would be very wroth if you accused them of being anything else but Socialists—as soon as you get Socialism into practice, you get the very same result that you will get whenever a body of determined and intolerant men attempt to realize their misguided ideal. Now then, I think I have disposed of liberty under Socialism to my satisfaction at least [laughter]—mind you, furthermore what I have read is borne out by the Socialist writers themselves. Take Mr. Cole who has just been mentioned. To

quote from one of his works, he says that "State Socialism is a bureaucratic and Prussianizing movement." His substitute is the milk-and-water Guild Socialism which has made little progress even among our parlor Socialists in this country. It scarcely deserves a refutation because it is bound to be so inefficient, bound as even its latest advocates tell us, to result in all sorts of competition between the Guilds and bound to result in this very absurd state of affairs where you will have an industrial Parliament and state and then some supermonstrosity on top of it. It scarcely deserves the discussion of intelligent people. The real Socialism with which we have to cope is the Socialism of which Mr. Nearing speaks, the Socialism of Lenine, the Socialism of Trotzky, the Socialism of those who start out with beautiful ideals and who are compelled by the grim facts of everyday life to seek to do away with starvation through tyranny.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, another point to which Mr. Nearing did not reply, is the progressive character, not of the disease but of the remuneration to the workers. Mr. Nearing himself is responsible for a book on wages, and from the same statistics which he utilizes, another writer, Professor King, has constructed a book which sums up the matter very much better perhaps than in almost any other production. [Laughter.]

In 1850 the average wages were $204. In 1910, the average wage—mind you, the average wage of the average workman, taking the low and the high altogether, had gone up to $507. Allowing for the difference in the purchasing power of money, wages had risen from 1850, $147 up to 1910, $401. Now, gentlemen, I ask Mr. Nearing whether he denies these facts, and if not, how he explains that there is not a progressive tendency in Capitalism. [Laughter.]

Now, let us come to another point that he makes. He said that a great deal is gotten by individuals for which they do not labor. All that is produced by the worker, practically all is filched from him by the recipient of profits and interest. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I think many of you know of some of the things that have been accomplished in this country. When Mr. James J. Hill, the great Empire builder, built one of the transcontinental railroads which have brought about the cheap-

ening of products and the diversification of consumption of which I spoke, did he not contribute to production? When Mr. McCormick invented and finally utilized the reaper and the thresher and the mower, which have revolutionized the work of the farmer and the whole life of the community and built up a fortune, did he not contribute to production? When Mr. Westinghouse invented the air brake and finally reaped a fortune by utilizing it in the uttermost parts of the world, did he not contribute to production? And when our friend Mr. Ford, with whose general philosophy perhaps I am not in entire accord [laughter], when he brought down the price of automobiles that are used by the workmen all over this country in going to and from their daily work [hearty laughter]—I passed by a factory the other day and found that there were 550 automobiles. They did not happen to be all Ford automobiles—and I stepped in and said: "To whom do they belong?" And I was told: "Each one of these belongs to a workman in this factory. They come every morning and go back every evening." Now then, could those fortunate workmen say that Mr. Ford has been able to heap his millions by simply taking them, filching them, stealing them, from the men in his employ? Ladies and gentlemen, there we come to the real inwardness of the whole situation. I do not deny that there is theft. I do deny that there is robbery. I do not deny that there are bad people as well as good people, but I do say that the essence of the capitalist system to-day, of legitimate profits is not theft, but service, and that people in the long run cannot under modern conditions, in the long run and under normal conditions make great profits unless they really do service for the community. The distinction that is sought to be made by the Socialist that the private capitalist is a thief and that the Socialist community alone gives service flies in the face of all the progress that has been made during the last few decades. And finally we come to Mr. Nearing's reference to war. I do not deny that war has been due to all manner of causes. We have had dynastic wars. We have had personal wars. We have had religious wars. We have had trade wars. We have had capitalistic wars. But that is no reason for ascribing all wars to Capitalism or for saying that if we were to have Socialism, war would come

to an end. And moreover, so far as Capitalism is concerned, mark again these progressive symptoms and manifestations. We are a capitalistic nation. What have we done with Cuba? What have we done with the Philippines? [Laughter.] What we have done is to educate them, to develop their economic resources, to put them in the position where they are almost ready, and will soon be entirely ready for self-government. [Laughter.] I maintain that a capitalistic community which is able to say that it can deal with its colonies, in the spirit of what I call progressiveness, that such a community is not entirely destitute of hope.

And now, finally, I want to ask Mr. Nearing two questions: First, if he is a Socialist, does he believe in Lenine and Trotzky [laughter], and second, if he believes in Lenine and Trotzky, does he think that the kind of liberty that is given under that Socialism is symptomatic of Socialism in general? [Prolonged applause.]

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Nearing has twenty minutes for rebuttal. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR NEARING

REBUTTAL

"Is there any," says Professor Seligman, "progressive tendency in Capitalism?" Yes, I think so. I think he has a little overdone it in assuming all of the virtues of the industrial revolution as the sole right and sole property of Capitalism. All of the advantages of the machine will not accrue solely to Capitalism. He told us that wages have risen since 1840 I think, production has increased, locomotives have been brought in, incandescent lights have been put up—all of these things during the capitalist era. Would they have been done if there had been no Capitalism? I cannot answer that. But I want to assure you that these railroads and these same incandescent lights will be installed all over Europe, all over Asia and Africa, before we get through with it, whether under Capitalism or under Socialism. The product of the machine is a heritage

of the race now; and not a peculiar product of Capitalism; nor can it be claimed to-day by any particular social scheme.

Do I regard Capitalism as progressive? Yes. We have had progressive panics—I call them successive panics—ever since 1814, and I defy Professor Seligman to show that under the capitalist method of one man owning the job, another man working it, and the job owner getting a part of the product of the worker in the form of a surplus—I defy Professor Seligman to show you under these circumstances there will not be successive panics. That is, under Capitalism intermittent starvation will be the lot of the worker, and tinkering with the capitalist system will not stop it. [Applause.] Under Capitalism industrial slavery is progressive. In the early days of Capitalism any man could get a job by going out to the frontier and taking a farm. The frontier is gone. Capital is required in large quantities. If you want to open a successful business, it needs tens or hundreds of thousands of dollars. Only a few can start in business. Most of us remain workers. The old factory was a little two-by-four concern. The modern factory employs you with a thousand or five thousand others. It locks you in a great city. It shoots you back and forth, not in Ford cars, but in subways, elevators, and other similar means of transportation. [Laughter and applause.] You have become a part of a mechanism that is growing continually harder, more set, more firmly established, where the chance to rise out of the ranks of the workers is diminishing.

That is progressive also. There is no doubt that Capitalism is progressive, and, as I said at the beginning, that industrial slavery is progressing faster than anything else. Among other things, thirty-five states have now established peace-time espionage acts.

Then there is another thing that is progressive under Capitalism. I refer to war. I have a little article here called "An Economic Interpretation of the War" written by Professor Seligman. [Laughter.] He found an author on Wages that did better than I did, but I have not found anybody on the War that has been better than Professor Seligman. [Hearty laughter and applause.] So I am going to quote what he has to say. [Laughter.]

While economic considerations indeed do not by any means explain all national rivalry, they often illumine the dark recesses of history and afford on the whole the most weighty and satisfactory interpretation of modern national contests which are not clearly referable to purely racial antagonisms alone.

And then he goes ahead to develop the idea of the struggle for trade, the idea of the struggle for markets, progressing up through the various stages of modern industrial society.

The most important phase of modern industrial Capitalism still remains to be explained. After national industry has been built up through a period of protection, and after the developed industrial countries have replaced the export of raw material by the export of manufactured commodities, there comes a time when the accumulation of industrial and commercial profits is such that a more lucrative use of the surplus can be made abroad in the less developed countries than at home with the lower rates usually found in an older industrial system. In other words, the emphasis is now transferred from the export of goods to the export of capital.

That, says Professor Seligman, was the stage of Britain before this war. Germany had just reached the stage. With what result?

To say, then, that either Great Britain or Germany is responsible for the present war, seems to involve a curiously short-sighted view of the situation. Both countries, nay, all the countries of the world, are subject to the sweep of these mighty forces over which they have but slight control, and by which they are one and all pushed on with an inevitable fatality.

The war is over. Germany is gone. But Japan and Great Britain and the United States each have tens of billions of surplus accumulation capital that must be exported, and those great forces that swept Europe into the catastrophe of 1914, as Professor Seligman says, are now sweeping Japan, Great Britain and the United States into even a greater disaster—those same progressive forces of Capitalism. [Applause.] Yes, it is progressive. It goes right on building up intermittent starvation, industrial slavery, war. They are in the system and they are a part of it.

There is also a progressive tendency in Socialism. I spent last summer in Europe. It is like going from—well, shall I say it is like going in hot summer time from a hot basement room into a refrigerating plant. You get a breath that makes you stand up and feel almost at home again. All over Europe is growing the spirit of solidarity among the workers. Why, last summer when they tried to make a war between Russia on the one hand and England and France on the other, the workers of France organized—ex-soldiers, socialists, labor unionists, all got together with the slogan, "Not a man, not a sou, not a shell for imperial Poland against working class Russia." [Great applause.] In Great Britain seven million men appointed a Council of Action, and they said to the British Cabinet, "If you inaugurate a war with Soviet Russia, within twenty-four hours every wheel of every basic industry on the British Isles will stop turning" [applause]—solidarity growing all over Europe. The miners met, the transportation workers met, the metal workers met, the railway workers met during the crisis last August, and one and all passed resolutions declaring that if they tried to make a war on Russia they would not transport, they would not manufacture, they would not ship, they would not handle war products of any kind—solidarity growing, the sense of solidarity everywhere. Even here in the United States it is growing. It cannot show its head now and then, but it is growing everywhere among the working people. [Applause.] The Russian revolution came in 1917, came almost out of a clear sky, came because the old system of Russia had broken down under three years of war, and the Russian workers, ill prepared, without technical experience, lacking transportation, unequipped with machinery—the Russian workers undertook to set up a new social order. The old order had been the order of the Czar. The new order was based on this section of their Constitution—"He that will not work shall not eat"—a phrase that runs back at least two thousand years. That is the idea they set out on, that the workers should be the basis of this new order of society. In the Russia of the Czars the basis of power had been the loafers, the professional aristocrats. In the new society, said the Constitution of the Soviet, "He that will not work, neither shall

he eat nor vote." That was the new order they tried to set up. Well, what happened? They made a sanitary cordon about Russia. They inaugurated a blockade. Japan, France and the United States sent in their armies and they made war on Russia. We sent our army to save the Russian people from the Bolsheviki. [Laughter.] Our soldiers were not cordially received. Neither were the other allied troops. They fell down because the soldiers of allied Europe would not go there to fight. And then we tried another stunt. There was Yudenitch, there was Denikin, there was Kolchak, and there were all these other adventurers making civil war. And we gave them money, supplies, munitions, furnished them with equipment, and said "Go to it, boys. Stir up as much trouble as you can." And that did not work. They had just gotten rid of Mr. Wrangel over in Russia. And then we financed all the little countries. Why, last summer French officers were directing the Polish army, and the New York *Times* published a picture of a brigade of Polish soldiers equipped with American, British and French uniforms and equipment. For three years we denied them medicine. For three years we denied them food. For three years we starved their women and children while we supported insurrection at home and made war on them abroad—for three years after they had already had three years of war! And now Professor Seligman wants to know whether that is a fair example of what Socialism can do. [Thunderous and prolonged applause.]

Professor Seligman wants to know what I think of Lenine and Trotzky. Now I will tell him if I can [laughter], and in a word. I think that when the history of this period comes to be written that there is not a man nor a woman in this hall this afternoon whose name will stand that high (indicating) with the names of Lenine and Trotzky in this period. [Great applause.] There are not two braver men in the world to-day, men who have stood up in the face of great opposition and steadily have worked for the end in which they believe. Do I agree with their theories? With some of them I agree, and with some of them I don't. You could not agree with both Lenine and Trotzky because they don't agree with one another. [Laughter and applause.] But just as I regard the Russian

revolution as the greatest event in history since 1776, just as I regard it as the epoch-making event, the dividing line between Capitalism and Socialism, so I regard these two men as two of those whose names will go down as having played mighty rôles in that page—the great page of our modern history.

I'd like to tell you something further. I said that Socialism was progressive as well as Capitalism. Now you think over here because of what you read in the New York *Times* that the Russian revolution is not very popular perhaps in Europe. I want to tell you that you cannot go to Europe to-day even in the mercenary little countries built up around Russia by the treaty, you cannot go in and raise a real respectable army of working men to fight against Russia [applause] because now —I have only two more minutes—because the workers of Europe believe in Russia. [Applause.] The workers of Italy have started to make their revolution. The workers all over Central Europe have started to make their revolution. There is not a country of any considerable size in Europe where the workers are not to-day busy preparing the foundations of the new Socialist state.

Is Russian liberty, says Professor Seligman, symptomatic of liberty in general? No. Civil war, blockades, all of the horrors that we have added to their period of transformation, all of those things are nonsymptomatic of Socialism in general. But in Russia they have taken over the resources, they have taken over transportation, machinery, they have taken over the factories, the community owns the means of its own livelihood. And they have appointed a Supreme Council of National Economy, and they are going to organize the nation as an economic unit on economic lines. It is the first time in history that it has ever been attempted. If it does not succeed in Russia it will succeed somewhere else, maybe here, because that is symptomatic of Socialism—the application of modern organized intelligence to the problem of getting a living. [Prolonged applause.]

CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen: This is the third and last round. [Laughter.] Professor Seligman leads off.

PROFESSOR SELIGMAN

SUMMARY

Mr. Nearing tells us that Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky have been true to the old adage—"He who shall not work, neither shall he eat"—a noble sentiment. My interpretation of what Messrs. Lenine and Trotzky are doing would be this—"he who shall work or not, he shall not eat." [Slight applause.] That is what is happening in Russia to-day, and it is not due to the blockade, it is not due simply to the results of war, because the conditions are getting worse and worse, because Russia has been able to live on the results of the past accumulation of Capitalism. Socialism is bringing about a situation, the most horrible, the most frightful, the most hideous that the world has ever seen—the disappearance of culture, the disappearance of cities, the disappearance of civilization, and the rapid progression of universal starvation among the workers themselves. That is Socialism in practice.

Now, ladies and gentlemen, in the few minutes that are left I want to make the point that my respected antagonist has not met the arguments, weak arguments though they be, which I have attempted to put forward. He has not shown that the capitalist and the recipient of private interest, rent and profits —he has not shown that such a man does not contribute and contribute largely to the result and that his disappearance will mean a diminution of production and, therefore, an increase of misery. He has not disproved in the second place, the point that I made at the beginning, that ever since 1873 our panics and what he calls the intermittent starvation have become less and less owing to the integration and development of Capitalism itself. He must meet that point in order to win his case as an argument. In the third place, he has not shown that all the beautiful results, desirable as they are, which he thinks can alone be achieved by Socialism, cannot be accomplished under what I would call progressive Capitalism.

My program of social reform is this. I will put it shortly under these seven heads, and not one of them needs Socialism:

equality of opportunity through increase of education and the disappearance of unjust privileges; second, the raising of the level of competition by law and public opinion; third, increasing the participation in industry through what is called industrial democracy and what is rapidly going on under representative government to-day; fourth, diminution of the instability of employment through the application of the principle of insurance which we have already applied to accidents and which we are beginning to apply elsewhere; fifth, conservation of national resources in order to prevent the waste which is responsible for much of the present-day trouble; sixth, social control of potential monopoly which has been proceeding apace and which has even reached unheard-of lengths in some modern countries; finally, the resumption for the community of swollen and unduly large fortunes through the use of taxation which must go, however, only to that point of not stifling and killing the spirit of enterprise which Socialism would bring about. [Applause.]

Now, ladies and gentlemen, every one of these points is what I call a mark of progressive Capitalism and not one of them needs Socialism. Socialism is a beautiful theory, although the theorists are fighting among each other, as they did yesterday in France and the day before in Italy. Lenine and Trotzky don't agree with each other and few other Socialists would agree with either. But the practical point is that when Socialism is put into operation it liberates certain forces which automatically reduce the production of wealth and which when pushed to their utmost extreme, will gradually undo the chief work that civilization has accomplished. I maintain, ladies and gentlemen, that Socialism is not practicable because it misconceives the real nature of human beings, that it is not desirable because it will ultimately land us in a tyranny, or if not a tyranny then in an unspeakable inefficiency. And I maintain that Socialism is not inevitable because it is based upon a misunderstanding of the real forces, the ultimate forces, the progressive forces that are at work under Capitalism. Let us not forget, ladies and gentlemen, that our modern civilization, imperfect though it be, has been the result of a piecemeal and laborious upbuilding, and that it is not the mark of either

wisdom or statesmanship to think that it can be rebuilt at once. Let us not throw away the fruits of all modern achievements and take a leap in the dark which may land us in the abyss of impotence. I claim, ladies and gentlemen, that what we need is the patience, the wise and large patience that is born of long experience and of ripe wisdom. We must remember that nothing in the world has ever been built up simply by bitterness and by negation, and that if we create anything at all we must build not on the shifting sands of an unreal and untrue psychology of human nature, but that we must build on the solid foundation of actual fact. It is much easier to promise a new heaven and a new earth than to set resolutely to work and improve that little bit of our earth which is nearest to us. We do indeed, ladies and gentlemen, need idealism. But we want an idealism that is tempered with moderation and that is transfused with practicability. If we are idealists in this sense, then, and then alone I claim we can look forward to a future of industrial society which will preserve the old, while gaining the new, and which will show that it is pregnant with the seeds of real progress, ever renewing itself and ultimately achieving the much desired harmony and social justice. [Great applause.]

CHAIRMAN: Mr. Nearing has the last word. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR NEARING

SUMMARY

THERE is one point of fact that I should like to clear up, if I can, and that is about the intensity of panics. In the panic of 1873: the largest number of failures in 1873 was 5,183 failures; 1893: the largest number of failures in 1893 was 15,242, or three times the number for 1873. We come on down to the next great panic, 1913, when the total number of commercial failures was 22,156, or 50 per cent more than those of the preceding panic.

A LADY. How about the proportions?

PROF. NEARING: Yes, there is something in that. You would

compare that with the population and the total volume of business.

Now, I want to speak another word of fact. Professor Seligman says that the situation in Russia is bad. Yes, I'd like to read him a sentence or two from the January letter of the National City Bank, the largest in America:

"The second year following the armistice did not bring the degree of industrial recovery and social recuperation among the peoples of Europe which had been hoped for. Conditions over the greater part of the Continent are still in great confusion, and over much of it even more distressing than a year ago.

"Poland. The industrial and financial situation is very bad, with the currency depreciated almost to the vanishing point by the enormous issues of the past year."—All over Europe, this thing that is harming Russia—in Poland conditions are deplorable. There is no Socialism on the surface in Poland. [Applause.] What is the trouble with Europe? Why she has just spent twenty-five millions of wealth on a grand jamboree called the World War, and she has not come through the result. She has not come through the after-effects. Europe is suffering a war, not Socialism. Russia has had six years of war, and she is suffering a war like the rest of Europe. Give Russia and the other Socialist countries of Europe—well, be generous with them—give them twenty years. You remember how long it took us to come out of our four years of Civil War? Give Russia twenty years and the other countries of Europe twenty years before passing judgment. [Great applause.]

Really, however, the issue between Professor Seligman and myself is very simple. He doesn't think the people can handle their own economic affairs, and I do. [Laughter.] Back in 1776 they told the American people that they could not handle their own political affairs, and the American people went ahead and tried it anyway. [Laughter.] Well, they have not done a one-hundred-per-cent job. [Hearty laughter.] But then, on the whole, the result has been better than if we had let George III and his descendants do the job for us. [Applause.] I don't mean that the workers anywhere in the world can do a one-hundred-per-cent job in handling their economic lives, but I do mean this, that people learn by trying. That is the great thing

about the Russian revolution. You look at the failures of Russia, but you don't go into a laboratory where chemists are working and say, "Show me your latest failure." [Laughter.] I could take any newspaper man in the hall into the Edison laboratory down here to Orange, and I could show him enough failures to write a full-page story that would show the Edison laboratory up as the worst calamity in New Jersey. [Laughter and applause.] It is not because people fail. It is because they don't try. That is the trouble with the people of America. What was it that we admired about our ancestors? Was it because they succeeded? No, because they had the nerve to stand up and try for themselves. [Great applause.] And that is what we admire to-day about the people of Russia. Of all the people in Europe, when this catastrophe struck them, they struggled out from under it, got on their feet a little bit and started out to try for themselves. Now, this is an example that has thrilled the world. This doesn't have to succeed. They don't have to make good a single one of their endeavors. Just to have tried when everyone else was failing—that was something. [Applause.] And that is what Russia did. She tried. And that is what I want to see the workers of the United States do. I want to see them try. [Great applause.] Professor Seligman thinks we can tinker up the old machine. [Hearty laughter.] I believe that no house divided against itself can stand. Where you get a country split, as our country is split, between men who live without working, on the labor of others, and great masses who labor when they get a chance and get only a part of the product of their work, when you get that kind of a fundamental economic division you have begun to build classes and that country will never again be at peace until that economic division is ironed out. There are two things before us: one to be a plutocracy where wealth rules absolutely, and where men and women are stepped on like the dirt of the street; and the other is to set up self-government in economic life where men and women handle their own economic affairs just as now they try to handle their own political affairs. Professor Seligman wants to see the plutocracy progress a little further. I'd like to see a bit of the Socialism showing its head here and there now. [Prolonged applause.]

A PUBLIC DEBATE ON THE MENACE OF THE LEISURED WOMAN

LADY RHONDDA, Affirmative
GILBERT K. CHESTERTON, Negative
GEORGE BERNARD SHAW, Chairman

Subject. *Resolved:* That the existence of the leisured woman is a menace to civilization.

Few debates on nongovernmental topics aroused such interest throughout the English-speaking world as that held in London between Viscountess Rhondda and Gilbert K. Chesterton upon "The Menace of the Leisured Woman," and at which George Bernard Shaw presided. The proceedings were broadcast to some 8,000,000 British listeners-in.

The text of Mr. Shaw's remarks is given below, and with it extracts from the speeches of Lady Rhondda and Mr. Chesterton. In addition to Mr. Shaw's observations upon women of leisure and upon the contestants, the debate had a provocative political bearing. A short time before Mr. Shaw was denied the privilege of broadcasting over the government-controlled British radio because he refused to promise not to touch upon "controversial" matters. At the Rhondda-Chesterton debate, Mr. Shaw found himself chairman of an argument that was to be broadcast by the same organization with the noncontroversial policy. It was a situation which he took advantage of in a typical Shavian manner, for he became as provokingly controversial as he chose, urged the audience to vote against the Government and even mentioned birth control, the most taboo of all British wireless subjects.

Lady Rhondda, who asserts that the leisured woman is a menace, is anything but a woman of leisure. Upon the death of her husband, she assumed active direction of one of Britain's greatest businesses. She has been energetic in politics and has battered—thus far unsuccessfully—against the gates of the House of Lords, claiming admission. Last fall in her publication, *Time and Tide,* she wrote a series of articles on women of the leisure classes. A series in reply was written by Mr. Chesterton, whereupon Lady Rhondda challenged him to a public debate.

These speeches are reprinted from the New York *Times.*

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

INTRODUCTION

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.—I must ask you to be very specially on your good behavior to-night, because what is happening at present is not merely Mr. Bernard Shaw addressing a crowded and prematurely enthusiastic audience in Kingsway Hall, it is London calling the British Islands and the universe in general. If any of you allow yourselves to be carried away in a moment of enthusiasm by shouting out anything, it will be heard by eight millions of people. Among those eight millions of people may be your wife or your husband. Be careful!

We are being broadcast. Now the condition on which broadcasting is conducted in this country is that nothing of a controversial nature must be spoken from the platform or anywhere else, except by members of the Government. How an animated and possibly embittered controversy is to be carried on this evening without either of the speakers becoming controversial, I cannot tell you. I am sorry to say that I cannot undertake to keep order in that respect, because one of the conditions of broadcasting in this country is that I myself individually and personally am not to be allowed to broadcast on any terms whatever. Therefore my own task is somewhat difficult.

UNDAUNTED BY GUARDS

Furthermore, I have to consider my position as the chairman of an English public meeting, and my duties as chairman oblige me at all hazards to preserve the right of the speakers to be as controversial as they please on any subject whatsoever, in spite of all the postmasters and governments in the world, and that duty I shall fulfill. But now please observe what that will lead us to. Probably at this moment the postmaster is listening in. He is realizing that I am speaking. His horror

is probably growing with every sentence that falls from my lips. How am I to be stopped? How are the speakers of the evening to be stopped if they become controversial? Well, I don't know, but it is evident to me that the Postmaster-General may call out the Guards.

If you find, then, an energetic force of military and police breaking into this hall, shattering the microphone, and leading me away in custody, I must ask you not to offer any resistance. Your remedy is a constitutional one: you must vote against the Government at the next election. Some of you may reply: "That is no remedy for me, because I already intend to vote against the Government at the next election, whether or no."

Well, you have one more remedy; I believe it to be a strictly constitutional one. I am now speaking, not only to you ladies and gentlemen assembled in this hall, but to the rest of the eight millions of persons who are listening in. I suggest to you that if every one of you writes a letter to the Postmaster-General telling him what you think of him, you will be strictly inside the letter of the law, and you will contribute an enormous sum in three-halfpenny stamps to the revenue, and you will make it absolutely certain that no Postmaster-General in England will ever attempt to interfere with freedom of speech in England.

Now, about the business of the evening. We are going to have a debate on the subject of the leisured woman. That makes me feel how old I am. When I was young a debate on this subject would have been entirely impossible, for the very simple reason that there was no such thing in existence as a leisured woman. As we used to say,

> Man's work is o'er at set of sun;
> A woman's work is never done.

In those days a woman had children to look after; she had a house to keep. Leisure for her was impossible. She had hardly time really to nag her husband as a husband ought to be nagged to keep him in proper order. Nowadays we have changed all that. We have got rid of the house and the house-

keeper; we have substituted the service flat and the residential hotel. We have got rid of children by birth control. It now really is possible for a woman to be entirely a woman of leisure. She can spend her time drinking cocktails, going to the night club, dancing the Charleston, and doing all the things that many women seem to imagine will fill their lives gloriously when all the old cares and the old work have been removed from them. That is possible. I know and understand that it is possible.

What I do not as yet quite understand, but what I will learn in course of the next half hour or so, is what Mr. Chesterton is going to say in defense of the leisured woman, because I understand that Lady Rhondda is, on the whole, going to object to the leisured woman. She calls her a menace.

Socialism by Another Name

Well, you all know Mr. Chesterton, you all know—well, there are so many things that we know about him. I know with peculiar gratification that Mr. Chesterton has outstripped me as a Socialist, by giving Socialism its real and correct and accurate name at last. He calls it Distributism, and in that way gets far ahead of me in that direction. You know that on all really deep social questions Mr. Chesterton is a man who has been preaching the most wonderful sermons and making the most pregnant utterances all his life; but alongside that there has been a side of Mr. Chesterton which has always puzzled me a little. It is what I may call the Anacreontic side. Mr. Chesterton, in the intervals of his sermons, of his moralizing, of his great sweeping view of the most intimate spiritual interests of the world, has moments when he proceeds to put vine leaves in his hair and to become, as it were, the apostle of high jinks.

It may be that it is in that capacity that he has come here to-night, and he may, for all I know, be going to defend the cocktail and the night club and the Charleston. Whether he will do so with knowledge, I do not know. My own private opinion, which I have no right to give you, because I am bound to be absolutely impartial this evening, but my own opinion is

that if you were to rise up and challenge Mr. Chesterton also to rise up on this platform and dance the Charleston with Lady Rhondda, I do not believe he would be able to do it.

Lady Rhondda—well, Lady Rhondda is the terror of the House of Lords. She is a peeress in her own right. She is also an extremely capable woman of business, and the consequence is that the House of Lords have risen up and said: "If Lady Rhondda comes in here, we go away." They feel instinctively that if Lady Rhondda started in the House of Lords there would be such a show-up of the general business ignorance and imbecility of the male sex that even the peerage have never heard of before.

LADY RHONDDA

AGAINST THE LEISURED WOMAN

I AM here to put forward a simple proposition: That the existence of the leisured woman constitutes a grave menace to civilization. If anyone thinks that is an overstatement of my case I can only say I felt that that was an understatement, and for that reason I hesitated to put it in that form. If it seems an exaggeration to anyone I would suggest that it is because in his heart he feels that anything that women can do could scarcely affect so large and important a thing as civilization. It is just another instance of the inferiority complex.

I don't know when Mr. Shaw wrote his preface to "Heartbreak House" how far he himself realized that for that society which he described so graphically women were responsible. But I imagine that he probably did, because I find that in one sentence he refers to the inhabitants of Heartbreak House as "pretty and amiable voluptuaries." For some reason "pretty and amiable" are adjectives which are almost always supplied to women rather than to men. But, after all, we have only to look at the world, we have only to open our eyes, to realize what the life of the leisured woman is, and what effect it has had on society as a whole. Nobody denies that idleness is the root of all evil.

You may be saying to yourselves that it is perfectly true that idleness has its effects, but you do not believe that the liesured woman in fact exists. You think she is a myth, that you have not met a leisured woman. Women are mostly occupied. I would point out, in the first place, that it is very easy to be both leisured and occupied; that most people see to it that they have an occupation, because, at least in the cultured countries, we prefer having an occupation to doing nothing. But that does not mean that in point of fact we are not, in the sense that I am using the word, leisured. You may tell me that you have scarcely ever met a leisured woman, that the unmarried women or women who have no children are doing good work in their neighborhoods or in their local political organization, and that the ones who have children have a full-time job.

Consideration for the Child

Mr. Chesterton told me in *Time and Tide* last autumn that looking after one child is a full-time job. He said, as far as I remember, that if any household contained even one child and the mother does not find looking after that child a whole-time job then the job is not being properly done. But that depends on many things—primarily, perhaps, on the age of the child; secondarily on whether the child has a nurse, and how many maids are kept in the house. But ought we not to consider the point of view of the child? Do you honestly think it is fair of anyone to make that a whole-time job for any other person?

Lastly, if you really think that the leisured woman does not exist, how do you account for the fact that results of her exist? How do you account, for instance, for the high heel—that symbol of all inefficiency? Do you think that the high heel would ever be in use by woman to-day if it were not that it is invented for a leisured class, which does not have to work? I know that it is used by many a woman who goes to work every day of her life. But that is just the trouble with clothes, invented—you have only to look at them—for a leisured class that does not have to work, that has most of its time to play with; and it wears flimsy clothes that need con-

stant renewal and don't last any time to speak of. They are worn by the rest of us because we do not like being different from other people.

I am not making an attack on the individual leisured woman. Nothing would be more unfair than to attack her for the place that she happens to have been born into. It is no more her fault that we have organized society on the basis of having a class of idle women than it is the fault of any other section of society. If I have seemed at all to attack the leisured woman of to-day, it is not because she is responsible for the present state of affairs, but because she is the only person who can set it right.

I find myself in the comfortable position of fundamentally disagreeing with Mr. Chesterton. As I see his description of life, he would suggest that the homes of the country are the only oases left of liberty and happiness, and that the ideal life for every person in the world is to sit, like a modest violet or shrinking snail, tight in their home, and not look out of the windows, but to have the blinds down, because they may see capitalistic society outside. As an ideal for the human race, I find that inadequate in a variety of ways.

Babies and Hammers

What he suggests is that we should all sit down, have the largest families possible, and bring them up to regard it as their ideal in turn to have the largest possible families, and so on, always avoiding doing anything during the present generation, and always thinking only of bringing up the next generation. That seems to me about as satisfactory as if every hammer in the country decided that its only duty was to produce more hammers, never to do anything as hammers except to produce other hammers. I cannot feel that that is a satisfactory ideal.

As to that question of birth control which Mr. Chesterton brought up, I express no views on that subject whatsoever, as to whether we should have large or small families. That seems to me a matter entirely for the individual to decide. I accept life as I see it around me. Among the ordinary well-to-

do people I find that they do not wish to have a family larger than three or perhaps four children. It may be, as Mr. Chesterton contends, that they ought to have twelve children. They do not; and I do not think that, in spite of what they have been urged to do to-night, they are going back to the plan of having twelve children. But I do say, when you have a small family of two or three or even four children, there comes a period fairly soon in the life of the mother of those children when she is not fully occupied, and when, to my thinking, on the whole, so far as the children are concerned, she ought not to be fully occupied.

Mr. Chesterton suggests that it would be a terrible thing for the ordinary woman to turn her attention to philanthropy. Well, I never cared for philanthropy much myself, but I believe in the liberty of the individual. Mr. Chesterton is very severe about the ordinary woman in the suburbs who goes out and does what she happens to think is the right thing in the way of philanthropy. We have all got our own schemes for reforming the world. Mr. Chesterton has got his, I have mine. Mr. Chesterton has the very excellent paper called *G. K.'s Weekly*, and he runs it largely, I suppose, because he hopes to reform the world by it. I have something to do with *Time and Tide*, no doubt with the hope of reforming the world by that.

Finally, Mr. Chesterton said he supposed that I believed in the civilization which I find here to-day. Well, I am a business woman, I am in commerce, and I would not be anywhere else. I believe that business is the most important thing. It is the fundamental trade of a country, the fundamental profession, if you like, of a country; for all the other professions are parasites on that one profession of getting food, housing, clothing, material well-being, if you like, for the people of the country. But I do not believe that our civilization to-day is perfect. I no more want women to withdraw into the home and pull the blinds down, and say this system is not good enough for us to touch, than I want men to do that. If it is not good enough for them to touch, they had better get out and alter it. If it is good enough for them to touch, then let them work in it. And, if the trades and professions are good enough for men, then I think they are good enough for women.

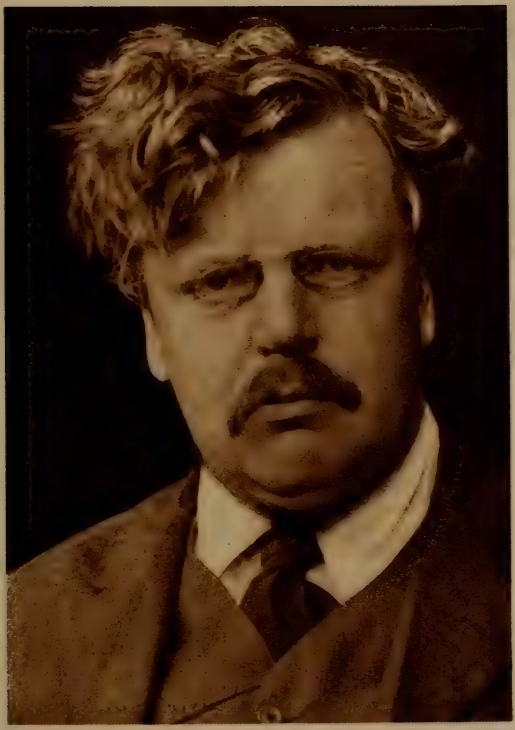
G. K. CHESTERTON

FOR THE LEISURED WOMAN

MR. CHAIRMAN, known to your intimate friends as G. B. S., it is a very great satisfaction to me that it was to several millions of people that you uttered the sentiment that birth control has abolished the children, "got rid of the children" was, I think, the exact phrase you used. It was no doubt a phrase used by King Herod. What sort of prospects of humanity and of the future we have to face, now that so simple an expedient has got rid of the children, I am not sure, and I am inclined to add one would not care, if that were really so. If it be really true that so simple, though unclean and unpleasant an expedient has indeed got rid of the children, then I can quite understand the proposition of Lady Rhondda that the lady in the suburbs has not got much to do.

It is quite true that in the debate to which Lady Rhondda alluded I said that the care even of one child would be and ought to be a full-time job. But I should not like you to suppose I ever suggested that it was a normal or even a natural state of things for a child to be an only child. If it is true that the large number of these unhappy suburban ladies have only one child, you must blame that which has abolished the children, and certainly not me! I do not think it is a good thing that people should have only one child; I only say that if they have only one they might very well pay some little attention to it, as one human being is quite a sufficient subject of attention, properly understood. I want to explain that point, to begin with, because it has been suggested that no member of my sex can be pretty and amiable. I have not the smallest pretension to be pretty, but I do believe that, broadly speaking, I am amiable.

The first thing that I wish to make clear is the conditions of that controversy to which my distinguished opponent has referred. You will observe that practically all the examples she gave appeared to refer to people who had a good deal of money, people who had nurses and all sorts of equipment. But I was



GILBERT CHESTERTON

only concerned with differing from her on one particular point —the question whether the care of children or even of one child is an adequate occupation, or craft, or art, or labor for a human being. It is upon that only that I propose to differ.

The Cocktail

The chairman has suggested that I should probably, in my capacity of Anacreon, rise and praise the cocktail. I am glad to say that Anacreon had never heard of a cocktail. If he had drunk cocktails, he would never have written such good poetry. Personally, I may give an example on that point. I think the cocktail is an excellent example of the degradation of all modern things, including the noble joy of wine. A man ought to wish to drink a little wine with or after his meals, but I have never yet sunk to such a degradation that I wanted anybody to raise my spirits in order to eat my meals.

Lady Rhondda told us about how dreadful it was for a woman to have nothing to do. Well, between you and me, I think there is a very great deal to be said for any man or woman having a good deal more of that glorious thing, nothing to do. It seems to me that a great part of the evil of the modern world arises from the fact that, while people are in a vast hurry to do all sorts of things, they have no time to think. I should not wish to be so ungallant as to say that the very structure of my opponent's argument indicates that they have not enough time to think; but, broadly speaking, all modern arguments, and arguments from the ablest and most brilliant people of the modern world, show that they have not had time enough to think things out from the beginning. I personally believe that it would be a very good thing, not only for women, but for men, and if possible more than for women, to have a number of blank and empty hours in which, after having tried every other desperate expedient, having drugged themselves with every other enjoyment, they should at last fall back upon the wild necessity of using their brains.

The one thing that Lady Rhondda has not told us is what the leisured woman ought to do, suppose that she is indeed this degraded creature.

Now I will frankly admit that there is—I concede this point to Lady Rhondda—a danger in the leisured woman. There is always the very serious danger that she may turn her attention to philanthropy or social reform. She may take up public work; in other words, occupy herself in various ways with the oppression of the poor and interference with human liberty. But I prefer to take a brighter view of her activities. It is more charitable to suppose that she does go and dance the Charleston and drink cocktails and amuse herself in various ways which, at any rate, consist in taking pleasures for herself and not taking them away from other people.

"Serving the Community"

May I point out that the one fallacy at the bottom of all this sort of discussion is the idea that you are necessarily serving the community by going outside the home? What is meant nowadays by going into a trade or a profession? What is offered to this vast concourse of idle women? "Serving the community," of course—going out and becoming a servant of some joint-stock company and swindling the community; going out and being the servant of some crack medicine or some vast system of patent foods, and poisoning the community; going out into my own unhappy guild, and writing lies for some millionaire; serving some of the vast trust newspapers, and misleading and deceiving and betraying the community.

One would really suppose from that line of argument that the woman had only to step outside these idle and empty suburban homes in order to step into the Utopia or Golden Age in which every kind of work she did was strictly and perfectly designed for the service of humanity. My friends, the exact opposite is the case. The home is the only place left where there is any liberty, and individuality and creative power, and possibility of human personalities counting as such.

This movement for women, the passing into the commercial activities of our time, was indeed a kind of flood or tide, a magnificent river rushing upon the sea of liberty. Personally, I think it is a deluge of dullness which will drown the whole world unless some islands and some arks are preserved. I know

what my own profession is like; it is getting duller every day. I dare say most of the blame belongs to men. There are a good many women in it now, but I should not put it on that. Our own sex left to itself is capable of a magnificent dullness, and is being made worse by combination, one flat, futile, vulgar vile stupidity, spreading over the whole world, equally monotonous and impotent.

In all that vast flood of futility and vulgarity and dreariness there remain certain little islands, little secure places, little fortresses, little shrines, where man will continue in some shape or fashion to live the right human life. In that thing called the home, we are not told to leave off eating or drinking at all hours of the day; in that place we are not required to dress, behave, and go on a certain fashion, according to the dictates of the big shops.

I take it that my opponent does believe more or less in all this vast sweep of modern, commercial, capitalist and ultimately monopolist civilization. I have testified here that I totally and utterly disbelieve it, that I believe it to be one of the lowest slaveries that man has ever undergone, that I think it will soon fall by its own weight, and break up by its own incapacity, but that during that process I am for defending all those little provinces, those little protected kingdoms of leisure and liberty and human creative habit that still exist.

GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

SUMMARY

It has been suggested that I should perform an impossible and really highly abstract operation called summing-up. This has not been very much of a debate, because I am very glad to say that both the controversialists have stuck pretty fairly to the splendid precept of Robert Owen: "Never argue; repeat your assertions."

In so far as there has been any argument, it has consisted, as usual, in the two parties attributing to one another the reciprocal positions which it is evident they do not hold, and which,

as a matter of fact, they could not hold, because no one same being could possibly hold them. There are always sentences in a debate which lend themselves to that. Mr. Chesterton made use of the sentence about the whole system which, taken by itself, seems to point to the Oriental system called purdah. But Lady Rhondda knows, and I know, that Mr. Chesterton is not a believer in purdah, and if he were he dare not say so because Mrs. Chesterton is on the platform.

I noticed also that in the course of the debate we dropped into that habit which the great Norwegian, Henrik Ibsen, tried so hard to get us away from, the habit of dealing with ideas and getting away from our argument. For instance, we had the expression, "the home." Ladies and gentlemen, whose home? As long as Mr. Chesterton stuck to the ideal, the home—not anybody's home, mind you, but the home—then he was able to say, without any sense of getting away from eternal truths, that a man when he retires into his own home, could say what he liked, do what he liked, and even could think what he liked. Once we get into the home, ladies and gentlemen, we hardly dare to think at all. Take one of the greatest thinkers in the world, Socrates—where did he think? We know very well that the one place where he could not call his soul his own was his own house.

Mischief for Idle Hands

Now this question of leisure. The real essence and genuine position that Lady Rhondda takes was summed up long ago in the two lines, "Satan still some mischief finds for idle hands to do." But when you come to deal with this question of leisure, you must remember that this capitalist system of ours is not going to be eternal. As Mr. Chesterton said, it is crashing already by the weakness in its own fabric, especially the moral weakness, and either in its crash it will bring down civilization, and bring us all down along with it, or else it will be got rid of by what Mr. Chesterton calls distributism, by a more equal distribution of property.

But if you are going to have an equal distribution of property, you will have to have an equal distribution of labor, and

then you will have as a consequence of that an equal distribution of leisure. We shall all have a lot of leisure, and then we will have to consider what to do with it. It will be a matter for ourselves, which I know is a very unpopular suggestion, because my friend Mr. Chesterton talks of the glorious position of having nothing to do. But, as he knows, that is not a very comfortable position.

What I think he essentially means is that you will be in the glorious position of being able to do what you like. But you know even that is not quite so glorious, as every tramp knows. I am afraid that when people have about six or seven hours a day in which they can do absolutely as they like, they will all turn round to somebody like myself, or Mr. Chesterton, or Lady Rhondda, who have got a certain amount of eloquence on the platform, and they will say, "Will you please tell us what we like, and we will go and do it very hard."

As this is a possibility, I would like to tell you that one of the things to which I attribute my own greatness is a resolution which I formed early in life, and that is that I never would allow myself to be persuaded I was enjoying myself when as a matter of fact I was not. I think if you could rub that into both the women and the men who are threatened with a very large amount of leisure, then matters would arrange themselves.

As to the question of the one child, bringing up a single child is undoubtedly a whole-time job. The remedy for that is to have six children; then it will hardly take you any time at all: the children will bring one another up. In the course of my long life I have observed large families. I have seen the unfortunate eldest child, and perhaps the second child, brought up largely when they were the only two children to look after, being ordered about and brought up in the worst sense of that horrible word. What right has any human being to dare to talk of bringing up another child? You do not bring up a tree or a flower, it brings itself up; you have got to give it a fair chance by tilling the soil lightly. But, as a matter of fact, when it comes to this question of bringing up children, people who have large families bring up the two eldest very carefully, make them intensely miserable to a very great extent, destroy

their intellect and their character; and then in the end in the large family, the family of six or seven or eight or even more, you find the two eldest spoiled and their lives very largely spoiled by bringing up.

Of course, by the time the parents have come to the youngest, they have given up all that sort of nonsense; they are tired of it. They have found out what our late friend Prince Kropotkin used to say:

"What can you do except look on at them and wonder?" That is the thing you have to do. You have to keep them fed and knock a certain amount of order into them, and in fairly large families let them bring one another up. Then you will find that, although the bringing up of one child was a whole-time job, the bringing up of six or seven takes about half an hour a day.

Imaginary Attributes

But there are other ideals besides the home that you have to be a little careful about. You speak of the women in the home, you speak of the mother, you speak of the wife. Really, women are being persecuted unendurably in her name because of her imaginary attributes.

Let us look this matter carefully in the face. I have known a very fair number of women in my time. Some of them produced splendid children, and were totally unfitted to have charge of them in any way. Others were, as we say, born mothers; they had a genius for it. Between them may be a certain number of people who, with a little assistance, guidance, and help, can get on fairly well. But I think we must recognize that the wife and mother do not cover the whole number of family combinations that you have to deal with, and that the home does not cover the lot of many human beings. Many of them have to go to sea, for instance, and do other things of that kind. Some of them have to keep lighthouses. I wonder, is there a lighthouse-keeper in this audience; if so, I should like him to give his idea of the home, of home life.

You have to deal with all these questions in a pretty practical way. You have to avoid ideals, and you have, finally, to remem

ber, that the leisured woman is not only a menace, especially to herself and to everybody else, but the leisured human being who has got nothing to do at all, who is completely leisured—and that is really what we have been driving at to-night—whether male or female, is a predestined miserable person and an injurious person to everybody around.

Idleness a Crime

As a matter of fact, if you even keep a horse for purely ornamental purposes, purely pleasure purposes, you will find that that horse will be a valetudinarian horse; you will always have trouble with its getting ill, and things of that kind, but if you allow it to take a garden-roller around for two hours a day, it becomes a perfectly different sort of horse. In the same way we must look forward to a time when we will all have our bit of work to do every day. We do not want to worry so much as yet about the leisured woman and the leisured person. We have to talk a little about the ideal, the complete ideal. We have to make up our minds to destroy the idler, that we won't have the idler under any circumstances. It ought to be a capital crime to idle.

I dare say *Time and Tide* and *G. K.'s Weekly* are willing enough to teach that lesson; but, as the editors have told you, they have no power to take this and to ram it down the throats of the people, and make them read these papers. Unfortunately, ladies and gentlemen, other people have that power. Most of the daily newspapers of London to-day, although you may not know it, are rammed down your throat, just as much as they are shoved into the place where your brain should be. This is one of the things we have to get rid of.

GENERAL INDEX

GENERAL INDEX

The Index has been designed to be of practical service to users of MODERN ELOQUENCE. Its aim is to direct the reader at once to speaker, speech, society occasion, subject or quotation. Elaborate analyses of subjects have been avoided for the sake of concreteness and simplicity. Names of speakers and titles of speeches are printed in bold face type, when they are reference words.

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APPENDIX

SUGGESTED READINGS IN MODERN ELOQUENCE

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SUGGESTED READINGS IN MODERN ELOQUENCE

"Reading maketh a full man," and indeed, there are few who will question that a life is incomplete if it does not include the joy of reading

But in these rushing, bustling days it must be admitted that the conduct of one's business or profession, and the multitudinous interests that engage one's attention, leave little time for quiet meditation, and the selection of good reading.

It has therefore been suggested from time to time that the addition of some form of Reading Guide to Modern Eloquence would be welcome. The object of such a guide, of course, is to suggest only, and not to lay out a course of reading which must be strictly adhered to.

Hugh Walpole, in his delightful essay on reading, divides the art into three sections: Reading for fun, reading for education and reading for love. The following Monthly Guide of Suggested Readings, therefore, while offering a planned series of readings, also allows the owner of Modern Eloquence to indulge his fancy in each of these three sections whenever and however he pleases. The aim has been to introduce the reader to a delightful company of brilliant minds—to provide a daily buttonhole of thought, to-day a brilliant rose of inspiration, to-morrow a modest violet of meditation and yet again a pert little pansy of delicious humor.

The art of reading lies, to a very large extent, in reading only that which is interesting. It has therefore been the object of the editors to select items for each day which are appropriate because of an historical anniversary, season or occasion of utterance.

Nearly all the suggested readings have a double significance and are particularly interesting if read upon the days indicated. For example, on January 1, the anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, his sparkling debates with Douglas and the speeches of his great campaign against slavery, are most appropriate. And the business and industrial world is not forgotten, one's attention being directed to Edward S. Jordan's address "Advertising Automobiles" on January 9th, the day when the Automobile Shows usually open.

Most of these selections can be read in from fifteen minutes to half an hour. The late Dr. Charles W. Eliot of Harvard has said that fifteen minutes a day devoted to good literature will give one the essentials of a liberal education. It is hoped that these few minutes devoted to this careful selection of best spoken thought will enable the reader to obtain the inspiration, entertainment and knowledge of world affairs that can otherwise be found only in a veritable library of thousands of volumes.

JANUARY

The first month of the year brings with it the satisfaction of a task well done and zest for those facing us in the New Year.

New plans are being made, ambitions extended. Success still remains to be captured anew. "The Price of Success" by H. F. de Bower provides the right inspiration with which to start the new year, and Edward Bok's "Keys to Success" follows in similar strain. Winter is on the ground and Jack Frost is king over all. Mark Twain's caustic comments on "New England Weather" are therefore particularly appropriate.

Historically the anniversary of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation stands out above all other events. In the following references will be found an excellent representation of Lincoln's speeches and debates on the question of slavery.

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FEBRUARY

February, the month in which were born America's two greatest leaders, is rightly known as "America Month." For now, more than at any other time, should one reflect on the enviable position the United States occupies in the world to-day, and the sacrifices that were necessary to place her there.

Although it seems to be fashionable in certain circles to belittle the achievements of this country and to cast aspersions on the character and ideals of our greatest patriots, there is no American who, looking all the facts in the face, cannot say with as much pride as the ancient Romans, "Civis Americanus Sum."

The actual words of Washington and Lincoln, the speeches of those who knew them in life, are sufficient answer to the carping critics and those of warped mentality who, quick to discover the slightest defect, experience difficulty in perceiving that which calls for admiration.

These speeches, to which your attention is called, are listed on the following pages together with many others which will enable one to view the history of this country in its proper perspective.

The building of the Panama Canal by Major G. W. Goethals, and many other milestones along the road of civilized progress, are well described in Modern Eloquence in the actual words of those who took a leading part in such achievements.

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MARCH

March may be truly classified as the month of Presidents. The custom established by the first President has been followed without exception by his successors and their solemn oaths of office have invariably been administered on the fourth day of the inaugural month, March. Some of these ceremonies have been marked by splendor, some by simplicity. Some have been distinguished by outstanding inaugural addresses, some have been dismissed with a few brief words by the new President. Many of the more important ones are suggested for reading during this month.

We are reminded that in March, 1860, William Jennings Bryan was born. His most famous speech, the Cross of Gold, was delivered during the controversial period preceding the adoption of the Gold Standard Act. It placed the unknown Nebraskan in the public light as a potential candidate for the presidency. All of his style, power and perfect command of English, which rightly earned for him the sobriquet of "the silver-tongued orator," may be found in this attempt to swing the public from the gold standard to that of free silver.

The advent of Spring draws one's thoughts to Nature. Two very delightful Nature talks are included which carry with them a veritable whiff of the farm and garden.

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APRIL

April has been one of the most eventful months in the history of the United States.

In April the shot was fired which was heard around the world. During the months that followed the Battle of Lexington on April 19, 1775, the greatest democracy the world has ever seen, was born. An experiment at first, the world watched with curiosity a nation governing itself and electing its own rulers.

Patrick Henry was one of the first of the American leaders to see the inevitable necessity of armed resistance to Great Britain and to advocate war preparations. His most famous address, of course, was before the convention of delegates at Richmond, Va., in 1775. You will find this address in Volume XI, page 1. Let us read again his famous climax:

"It is in vain, sir, to extenuate the matter. Gentlemen may cry peace, peace—but there is no peace. The war is actually begun! The next gale that sweeps from the North will bring to our ears the clash of resounding arms! Our brethren are already in the field! Why stand we here idle? What is it that gentlemen wish? What would they have? Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me Liberty, or give me death!"

The next speech in this volume, "American Independence" by Samuel Adams, is suggested for reading immediately after Patrick Henry. What a splendid thought for every American is contained in his opening words on page 5.

"If there is any man so base or so weak as to prefer a dependence on Great Britain to the dignity and happiness of living a member of a free and independent nation, let me tell him that necessity now demands what the generous principle of patriotism should have dictated."

A noble thought, nobly expressed.

Again in April, this time in 1861, the eyes of the world turned toward the "experiment." Apparently it was doomed to failure, for the new nation was split asunder and brother fought with brother.

Although the "experiment" proved a success, the great mind which established this democracy afresh on a firm foundation was stilled by the hand of the assassin in April, 1865.

Again in April, 1898, the United States passed another milestone when it issued its ultimatum on behalf of an oppressed people which led to the war with Spain.

Henry Cabot Lodge, in his eulogy on Roosevelt in Volume IX, tells how Roosevelt as Acting Secretary of the Navy at the time sent the following cablegram to Dewey at Hong Kong:

"Order the squadron, except the *Monocacy,* to Hong Kong. Keep full of coal. In the event of declaration of war, Spain, your duty will be to see that the Spanish Squadron does not leave the Asiatic Coast, and then offensive operations in the Philippine Islands. Keep *Olympia* until further orders."

"I believe he was never again permitted to be Acting Secretary," says Lodge. "But the deed was done.

"The wise word of readiness had been spoken and was not recalled. War came, and as April closed, Dewey, all prepared, slipped out of Hong Kong and on May 1 fought the battle of Manila Bay."

However, the Spanish-American War was not regarded at the time as being on behalf of an oppressed people by all. William Jennings Bryan, in 1899, said: "We have reached another crisis. The ancient doctrine of imperialism, banished from our land more than a century ago, has recrossed the Atlantic and challenged democracy to a mortal combat upon American soil."

Once more, in April, 1917, the United States proved its claim to leadership in the constant struggle of democracy against autocracy.

President Wilson's address to Congress, declaring war against Germany, on April 2nd, 1917, was received by the Allied Nations with unbounded enthusiasm. Here we find (Vol. XII, page 205) the three striking phrases which Lloyd George said "will stand forever in the history of this crusade."

1. "The world must be made safe for democracy."
2. "The menace to peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will and not by the will of the people."
3. "A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by the partnership of democratic nations."

Thus are the birth, adolescence and maturity of the United States recorded in the words of national leaders who have guided its destiny.

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MAY

"Now is the merry month of May," sings the poet. Nature bursts forth into her full glory, the world is full of joy and harmony, and all, indeed, have cause to be merry.

The epidemic of spring poetry which assails editors from all directions in May, is notorious. It was with this thought in mind, no doubt, that Andrew Lang included his instructions to would-be poets in his delightfully quaint lecture, How to Fail in Literature.

Mention of literature reminds one that it was on May 25, 1803, that Emerson first saw the light of day. Although his fame is built on his literary work, the great American essayist was also a well-finished speaker. His address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society is sufficient evidence of this fact.

And it must be remembered that that greatest of all addresses, the Gettysburg Speech, was delivered in May—on Memorial Day. This wonderful and beautiful expression of spoken thought has been ranked with Paul's appeal to the Athenians on Mars' Hill, and second only to Christ's Sermon on the Mount, by no less an authority than Albert J. Beveridge.

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JUNE

And what is so rare as a day in June?
Then, if ever, come perfect days;
Then Heaven tries the earth if it be in tune,
And over it softly her warm ear lays.
—James Russell Lowell.

To thousands of young people, June means but one thing—Commencement Day. Every year speakers of experience try to give to graduating classes some advice as to how to pass through what Sir Auckland Geddes calls "the jungle of life," and how best to "cut their own trail."

Sir Auckland Geddes' Commencement Address is a stirring piece of oratory as well as an excellent example of Commencement Address.

"Millions of young men have gone to their death serene in the faith that they died for a cause worthy of sacrifice. Millions more have died angry and protesting and asking—Why?

"Into a storm-wrecked world you new graduates have to pass and press forward in a struggle demanding your every effort. To press forward, yes; but whither?

"I have asked myself that question all my conscious years. I cannot tell you. I do not know. But some things have become clear to me."

Arthur Hadley has also contributed a splendid Commencement Day Address which is recommended for reading this month.

Flag Day, June 14th, calls for speeches in schools and churches. Modern Eloquence contains some excellent addresses on the flag. One of the most dramatic and one which deserves to be quoted in every patriotic address is that by Alvin Owsley.

"Of all the signs and symbols since the world began, there is none other so full of meaning as the flag of this country. That piece of red, white and blue bunting means five thousand years of struggle upwards. It is the full-grown flower ot ages of fighting for liberty. It is the century plant of human hope in bloom.

"Don't be ashamed when your throat chokes and the tears come, as you see it flying from every flagstaff of the Republic. You will never have a worthier emotion.

"Listen, son! The band is playing the national anthem. They have let loose Old Glory yonder. Stand up—and others will stand with you."

Another speech, "Makers of the Flag," delivered by Franklin K. Lane in Washington on Flag Day, 1914, has been widely published and has found a real place in the literature of this subject. The orator speaks for the flag:

"I am not the flag; not at all. I am but its shadow.
I am whatever you make me, nothing more.
I am your belief in yourself, your dream of what a
People may become."

Americans are naturally vitally concerned and interested with all that pertains to their Southern neighbors and the anniversary of the death of Henry Clay this month suggests the reading of his splendid speech, "South American Republics."

Henry Clay, who died June 29, 1852, was one of America's greatest orators and patriots. He had few early advantages and gained his education by reading. From a lawyer, he became a member of the Kentucky legislature, was then elected to the House of Representatives, of which he became Speaker. He became widely known as an orator of power, and his speeches, several of which are given in Modern Eloquence, ring with the passionate sincerity which characterized the man.

The following extract from his South American speech shows its significance:

"In the establishment of the independence of Spanish America the United States has the deepest interest. I have no hesitation in asserting my firm belief that there is no question in the foreign policy of this country, which has ever arisen, or which I can conceive as ever occurring, in the decision of which we have had or can have so much at stake.

"This interest concerns our politics, our commerce, our navigation. There cannot be a doubt that Spanish America, once independent, will be animated by an American feeling and guided by an American policy. They will obey the laws of the

system of the new world of which they compose a part, in contradistinction to that of Europe. The independence of Spanish America, then, is an interest of primary consideration.

"Next to that, and highly important in itself, is the consideration of the nature of their governments. That is a question, however, for themselves. Anxious as I am that they should be free governments, we have no right to prescribe for them."

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JULY

History seems to have marked July as a month of revolution. Both France and America celebrate their independence in this month, the French Bastille Day coming on July 14th.

Americans observe the Fourth of July wherever they may be and some of the best speeches have been made in London, by Englishmen. After all, as James Beck said in his speech on the Fourth of July, "If the deed which we celebrate to-night is a great deed, an epoch-making deed, then it was a deed wrought by Englishmen. The men who fired the shot which was 'heard round the world' were Englishmen." Arthur James Balfour, on a similar occasion, declared, "We are working together in all the freedom of great hopes and with great ideals. Those hopes and those ideals we have not learned from each other. We have them in common from a common history and from a common ancestry. We have not learnt freedom from you nor you from us. We both spring from the same root."

Of the many Fourth of July addresses given in Modern Eloquence, the one delivered by Woodrow Wilson at Gettysburg, July 4, 1913, should be given special attention.

"Here is a great people," he said, "great with every force that has ever beaten in the life-blood of mankind. And it is secure. There is no one within its borders, there is no power among the nations of the earth, to make it afraid. But has it yet squared itself with its own great standards set up at its birth, when it made that first noble, naïve appeal to the moral judgment of mankind to take notice that a government had now at last been established which was to serve men, not masters? I would not have you live even to-day wholly in the past, but would wish to stand with you in the light that streams upon us now out of that great day gone by. Here is the nation God has builded by our hands. What shall we do with it?"

For a thrilling picture of the battle of Gettysburg, which was fought for three scorching July days in 1863, turn to the "Last

Days of the Confederacy," by John Brown Gordon and read the story of his giving water to a dying Union officer and the Northerner's plea, "You are a Confederate; I am a Union soldier; but we are both Americans; if you should live through this dreadful war and ever see my wife, will you tell her that you saw me?" The climax of this story is as exciting as fiction and makes Gettysburg more than a date to be remembered.

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AUGUST

August will be remembered for many years as the month of tragedy—the month which saw the opening of the World War in 1914.

In after years, when prejudices and hatreds have subsided, it is not only of the greatest interest, but of the greatest informative value to read again the statements of the leaders of the warring nations. These speeches which are referred to in the following pages, illuminate the international intrigue and continual struggle for supremacy which has possessed the nations of Europe for centuries.

The psychology of the war is a fascinating study and nowhere is it better revealed than in these official utterances.

The peculiar mentality of the Kaiser, his belief in his divine appointment and his elevation of militarism and imperialism as a sort of religion is clearly shown in his sermon "Moses and Amalek."

But August is not only notable for the war. Oliver Wendell Holmes, Robert G. Ingersoll, and Herbert C. Hoover were born in this month, while James Russell Lowell, poet, critic and Minister for his country abroad, died after a noble life of seventy-two years.

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SEPTEMBER

September marks the end of the vacation season and our thoughts turn to the fall and winter with their myriad activities in business and social life.

Reading with a purpose now takes a larger place in one's life, for the well-informed mind is essential to one's full expression and to complete appreciation of cultural contacts and business success. As the winter season approaches, therefore, more emphasis is given to lectures and speeches of great literary or informative value. "Public Speaking," a beautifully written article by Albert J. Beveridge, is most appropriate at the opening of the speech-making season and "The Durable Satisfactions of Life" by Charles W. Eliot, reminds one that intellectual pleasure is just as keen and more lasting than the physical joy-making of the summer months.

Labor Day, celebrated on the first Monday in September, is the occasion for many addresses. One of the most noteworthy speeches delivered on this day is that of Will H. Hays, on page 377 of Volume IV. A splendid definition of the meaning of Labor Day is contained in his second paragraph.

"This is Labor Day. It is not the birthday of a hero nor the founding of a nation; it is not the anniversary of a battle nor the crowning of a king. It is the day when the world by outward manifestation recognizes the worth of men; when man as man feels his power and glories in it. It is the day when from one end of the Republic to the other millions of citizens are paying tribute to that vast army which follows the banner of Labor—the most potent factor in building up and making great and strong this nation. It is the day when we teach our children that labor is honorable and only through it can we possibly hope to achieve the beneficent ends for which society is established and government founded. Such is the day we celebrate to-day, such is Labor Day everywhere."

But there are many other speeches suitable for Labor Day contained in Modern Eloquence. The Index in Volume XV shows

more than a score of references under the heading of Labor. Among them is Judge Gary's famous speech, in which he correctly emphasizes the fact that Labor does not only include those who work with their hands on a wage basis, but also the brain workers and even the capitalists. A good thought for Labor Day is contained in this paragraph:

"Fortunately for all mankind, employers and employees as a rule now entertain a more enlightened view of the relationship between them; and because of the practical demonstrations of this fact there is comparatively little likelihood of disturbances inimical to business progress and composure. Agitators, frequently influenced by motives of cupidity, with selfish and unscrupulous designs, regardless of the public good, will bring about temporary disorder, but I firmly believe that if the employers generally in the treatment of their employees are governed by honorable, intelligent and liberal policies there will be no considerable danger of disregard of law or of interference with the orderly progress of human enterprise. Wise, just, considerate treatment by an individual, or an aggregation of individuals, toward others will result in reciprocity and coöperation. Accomplishment by force in any form must give way to reason and conciliation. This is not idealistic; it is practical common sense. The Golden Rule, more and more, should and will be practiced in everyday economic life."

A sympathetic and interesting study of the relationship between Capital and Labor is contained in Edward A. Filene's address, "Why Men Strike." In addition, Samuel Gompers, Jane Addams and Henry Allen enable us to understand better the viewpoints of both masters and men. These brief speeches, which can be read in a few moments of leisure, leave one not only better informed but with a broader vision of one of the greatest problems of the day.

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OCTOBER

Of all the outstanding events in American history that have occurred in the months of October, probably the most significant is the passing of Daniel Webster. Here was a man indeed—one of the greatest orators America has ever produced. His remarkable eloquence swayed the Chief Judiciary of the United States in the Dartmouth College case to a decision which has been a landmark in American law and a mooted question among great authorities.

In a splendid tribute to Webster in Volume IX, page 99, Rufus Choate tells how "He came into Congress after the War of 1812 had begun, and though probably deeming it unnecessary, according to the highest standards of public necessity, in his private character, and objecting in his public character, to some of the details of the policy by which it was prosecuted, and standing by party ties in general opposition to the administration, he never breathed a sentiment calculated to depress the tone of the public mind, to aid or comfort the enemy, to check or chill the stirrings of that new, passionate, unquenchable spirit of nationality, which then was revealed, or kindled to burn till we go down to the tombs of States."

Webster's "Reply to Hayne" and his "Bunker Hill Oration" are perhaps his most famous addresses. In the "Reply to Hayne" he gives a statement of the constitutional sanctions of union as against nullification and the doctrine of States rights. His viewpoint is well shown in the following passages:

"I must now beg to ask, sir, whence is this supposed right of the states derived? Where do they find the power to interfere with the laws of the Union? Sir, the opinion which the honorable gentleman maintains is a notion founded in a total misapprehension, in my judgment, of the origin of this government, and of the foundation on which it stands. I hold it to be a popular government, erected by the people; those who administer it responsible to the people; and itself capable of being amended and modified, just as the people may choose it should be. It is as popular, just

as truly emanating from the people, as the state governments. It is created for one purpose; the state governments for another. It has its own powers; they have theirs. There is no more authority with them to arrest the operation of a law of Congress, than with Congress to arrest the operation of their laws. We are here to administer a constitution emanating immediately from the people, and trusted by them to our administration. It is not the creature of the state governments."

"Who or what gives them the right to say to the people: 'We, who are your agents and servants for one purpose, will undertake to decide that your other agents and servants, appointed by you for another purpose, have transcended the authority you gave them!' The reply would be, I think, not impertinent: 'Who made you a judge over another's servants? To their own masters they stand or fall.' "

The closing of the Columbian Exposition at Chicago on October 30, 1893, brings to mind that gem of oratory from the tongue of one of the most versatile speakers of the present age—The Columbian Oration by Chauncey M. Depew. Chauncey Depew has achieved prestige and success as a legislator and lecturer, accomplishments of which the fundamental necessity is effective and convincing speech.

For beauty of expression, clear construction and easy flowing language, the opening paragraph of his great oration is unexcelled.

"This day belongs not to America, but to the world. The results of the event it commemorates are the heritage of the peoples of every race and clime. We celebrate the emancipation of man. The preparation was the work of almost countless centuries; the realization was the revelation of one. The Cross on Calvary was hope; the cross raised on San Salvador was opportunity. But for the first Columbus would never have sailed; but for the second, there would have been no place for the planting, the nurture, and the expansion of civil and religious liberty. Ancient history is a dreary record of unstable civilizations. Each reached its zenith of material splendor, and perished. The Assyrian, Persian, Egyptian, Grecian, and Roman empires were proofs of the possibilities and limitations of man for conquest and intellectual development. Their destruction involved a sum of misery and relapse which made their creation rather a curse than a blessing. Force was the factor in the government of the world when Christ was born,

and force was the source and exercise of authority both by Church and State when Columbus sailed from Palos. The Wise Men traveled from the East towards the West under the guidance of the Star of Bethlehem. The spirit of the equality of all men before God and the law moved westward from Calvary with its revolutionary influence upon old institutions, to the Atlantic Ocean. Columbus carried it westward across the seas. The emigrants from England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales, from Germany and Holland, from Sweden and Denmark, from France and Italy, from Spain and Portugal, under its guidance and inspiration moved west, and again west building states and founding cities until the Pacific limited their march.

"The exhibition of arts and sciences, of industries and inventions, of education and civilization, which the Republic of the United States will here present, and to which, through its Chief Magistrate, it invites all nations, condenses and displays the flower and fruitage of this transcendent miracle."

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NOVEMBER

November is an important month in making the history of the United States. For on the Tuesday following the first Monday in the month, the registered voters go to the polls and elect, for varying terms, their candidate for public office.

The presidential elections every four years are, of course, the most interesting and important, and they have been the occasion of many outstanding speeches, some of which are referred to in the succeeding pages.

Another important day is Thanksgiving Day, which falls on the last Thursday of the month. It is a matter for admiration that a nation which is reputed to be entirely concerned with material things, devotes one working day each year for the purpose of giving thanks to God for the blessings received during the year.

The origin of Thanksgiving Day is very interesting. It was first observed by the Pilgrims in 1621 after they had gathered their first harvest. Life was indeed a constant struggle against the forces of nature for those early pioneers, and when at last their labors produced from the bleak climate and rocky soil of New England, not only food, but material for necessary clothing, they gathered together to give thanks to the Almighty.

The annual celebration of this feast on the last Thursday in November, dates only from 1864, when President Lincoln proclaimed this day to be observed as Thanksgiving for all time.

"This day has been set apart by our ancestors for a very definite and excellent purpose," says Alvin Owsley in Volume VII. "It has been set apart as the Day for the Giving of Thanks and thus it has been observed for three hundred years. It is the oldest of American holidays; it was first observed by less than a hundred settlers struggling in a wilderness; to-day it is observed by a hundred million people established across a continent. This is the measure of the nation's growth. Twelve generations have dreamed and toiled and fought to bring the Republic to this eminence."

Many other speeches delivered on, or referring to, Thanksgiving Day have been included in this edition of Modern Eloquence and provide inspiring thoughts and ideas for this season of the year.

Thanksgiving Day brings to mind that other November day when the world went wild with joy and relief and prayers of thanks and praise rose to Heaven: Armistice Day, November 11th, 1918.

To those who actually experienced the years of bitter fighting that preceded it, to those who looked upon the European shambles, the carnage and horror of four years' scientific murder, this Day must forever be emblazoned in their memories in letters of blood. There is a tendency in American life to-day to gloss over the anniversaries of this event. Too little and too perfunctory attention is paid to it. If every American, every citizen of every nation, would reflect on the horrors of war and the blessings of peace on each Armistice Day, a considerable gain would be made in the cause of World Peace.

Said Martin Littleton in his Armistice Day Speech, 1921:

"We have searched through all the wreckage and débris of the exhausted centuries for that which will make our liberty secure, and we have now arrived on the hilltops of democracy. If this will fail, then indeed has civilization failed."

Civilization has not failed and will not fail as long as the spirit of Armistice Day and what it stands for, lasts.

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DECEMBER

The last month of the year brings to us the season of good will and peace to all mankind. Whatever one's beliefs, the Spirit of Christmas pervades every home and joy and celebration is the order of the day.

Probably the most beautiful portrayal of the Christmas spirit ever written, is "The Christmas Carol" by Charles Dickens. Not being a speech, this masterpiece is not included in Modern Eloquence, but nevertheless is strongly recommended for reading every Christmas Eve.

Dickens, with his great love of humanity, his passion for helping those in unfortunate circumstances, lived the Christmas spirit every day of his life. It is in keeping with the season to read his speech, Friends Across the Sea, which was delivered on the occasion of his visit to this country in 1842. Keeping in mind the fact that Dickens was probably the most successful writer of his time, it is refreshing to note that his address is a model of restraint, modesty and dignity, which, unfortunately, are so often lacking in these rushing, busy days.

Particularly appropriate for Christmas reading and also in trend with the present-day movement toward world peace, is William Jennings Bryan's address, The Prince of Peace. Those who may be called upon to deliver a Christmas address will find inspiration in these words:

"I was thinking a few years ago of the Christmas which was then approaching and of Him in whose honor the day is celebrated. I recalled the message, 'on earth peace, good will toward men,' and then my thoughts ran back to the prophecy uttered centuries before His birth, in which He was described as the Prince of Peace. To reinforce my memory I re-read the prophecy, and I found immediately following a verse which I had forgotten—a verse which declares that of the increase of His peace and government there shall be no end, and, Isaiah adds, that He shall judge His people with justice and with judgment. I had been reading of

the rise and fall of nations, and occasionally I had met a gloomy philosopher who preached the doctrine that nations, like individuals, must of necessity have their birth, their infancy, their maturity, and finally their decay and death. But here I read of a government that is to be perpetual—a government of increasing peace and blessedness—the Government of the Prince of Peace—and it is to rest on justice. I have thought of this prophecy many times during the last few years, and I have selected this theme that I might present some of the reasons which lead me to believe that Christ has fully earned the right to be called the Prince of Peace—a title that will in the years to come be more and more applied to Him. If He can bring peace to each individual heart and if His creed when applied will bring peace throughout the earth, who will deny His right to be called the Prince of Peace?"

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